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FRG Officers Inspect USSR-GDR Maneuvers

Inspection Begins 12 Aug

LD1208121888 Hamburg DPA in German 1056 GMT 12 Aug 88

[Excerpts] Bonn/East Berlin (DPA)—At noon today, four Bundeswehr officers began their inspection of maneuvers by Soviet and GDR troops in a region southeast of Berlin. [passage omitted]

According to the rules of the "Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe" the period of inspection by the Bundeswehr officers (48 hours are envisaged) will end at about noon on Sunday. The maneuvers of the Soviet troops and units of the GDR National People's Army started on Monday, and will end this Sunday. Fourteen thousand Soviet and 500 GDR soldiers are taking part in the maneuvers.

Two Killed in Collision

LD1308121788 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1144 GMT 13 Aug 88

[Text] Berlin, 13 Aug (ADN)—In the early hours of 13 August there was a serious traffic accident in the village of Niebel near Luckenwalde in Potsdam Bezirk. There was a collision between the leading vehicle of a column of armored vehicles of the GSFG [Group of Soviet Forces in Germany] and a Trabant car, in which the two occupants of the car were fatally injured.

The exact circumstances surrounding the accident are currently being investigated by the appropriate authorities.

Exercise Ends 14 Aug

LD1408170888 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1612 GMT 14 Aug 88

[Text] Berlin, 14 Aug (ADN)—The joint exercise by the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany [GSFG] and the NVA in the region of Burg, Jessen, Luebbenau, Teupitz, and Luckenwalde ended on Sunday. About 14,500 members of the two fraternal armies took part.

Under the direction of Lieutenant General Aleksandr Kozlov, deputy to the commander-in-chief of the GSFG, troops and staffs in recent days demonstrated their increased level of training for defensive action. The troop formations and units withdrew to their garrisons on Sunday according to plan.

The exercise had been announced to the signatory states of the Stockholm Document on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe.

FRG Inspectors Complete Work

LD1408152488 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1419 GMT 14 Aug 88

[Text] Berlin, 14 Aug (ADN)—Commensurate with the stipulations of the Stockholm Agreement concerning adherence and control of notifiable military activities, four officers from the FRG inspected from 12 to 14 August 1988 troops of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany and of the National People's Army [NVA]. The inspection covered the Glienicke, Brandis, Grossenhain, Luebbenau, Teupitz, Luckenwalde, and Lehnin area, where a joint exercise took place from 8 to 14 August.

As reported the GDR Government approved the FRG inspection request on 11 August 1988. In deciding on the request and in the practical execution of the inspection the GDR has adhered strictly to the Stockholm Document. The inspection group arrived in their own vehicles 36 hours after the application. According to their request the inspection group was provided with two helicopters and two NVA cross-country vehicles. During its stay in the GDR the group was accompanied by officers of the Defense Ministry. The inspectors ended their work after 48 hours.

As an inspecting state the FRG is obliged to immediately send an inspection report to the signatory states of the Stockholm Agreement.

Inspectors Comment

LD1408145988 Hamburg DPA in German 1406 GMT 14 Aug 88

[Excerpts] Potsdam (DPA)—Four Bundeswehr officers today ended their 48-hour inspection of a Soviet and GDR troop exercise southeast of Berlin. In reply to journalists in Potsdam who asked about the treatment the officers received in the GDR, Colonel Baron Otto Grote said after the inspection that everyone had been very businesslike. He was convinced that such inspections have a confidence-building effect. The officers returned to the Federal Republic this afternoon. [passage omitted]

According to Grote, two divisions of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany (GSFG) and a smaller contingent of the NVA took part in the week-long exercise which ended today. In 48 hours, the inspectors were able to travel within the exercise area using helicopters. Grote did not want to evaluate the exercise.

In reply to a question on the reduction of "enemy images" by means of such confidence-building measures, Grote said that the training of many years did not allow "itself to disappear in a few weeks or months." Beforehand, NVA Major Gerd Doischer, who escorted the inspectors, said that such meetings "definitely" reduced enemy images. Every such step led to more understanding and security. [passage omitted]

Science, Education Accord With SRV Signed

AU1208114388 Tirana ATA in English 0925 GMT 12 Aug 88

[Text] Tirana, August 12 (ATA)—The Program on Cultural, Educational, and Scientific Cooperation Between the Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam for 1988-1989 was signed in Hanoi on August 10. For the Albanian side the program was signed by the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PSR of Albania in Hanoi, Syrja Laze, whereas for the Vietnamese side by the foreign vice-minister, Nguyen Di Nien.

Attending the signing ceremony were the vice-minister of culture Dinh Quang, and other functionaries of various respective institutions.

The program envisages cooperation between two countries in the field of science, education, health, art, culture, sport, information etc.

Government Delegation Leaves for Congo 12 Aug

AU1208185988 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 12 Aug 88

[Text] A government delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, led by Minister of Education Skender Gjinushi, left for the People's Republic of Congo at the invitation of the Congolese Government. The delegation will participate in the celebrations on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Congolese Revolution.

The delegation was seen off at Rinas Airport by Minister of Energy Lavdosh Hametaj and other comrades.

Algerian Ambassador Departs 11 Aug

AU1108185188 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 11 Aug 88

[Text] On the occasion of his transfer to another post, Rachid Haddad, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, left our country today.

Economic Progress Report for 7-13 Aug

AU1308190088 [Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its transmissions between 7-13 August carries the following economic performance reports (time and date of transmission in parentheses):

Elbasan District: The "Steel of the Party" Metallurgical Combine's engineering plant has overfulfilled its 7-month plan by 3.5 million leks; (1800 GMT 12 August) the coking-chemical plant has also overfulfilled its plan by 3.2 million leks. (1800 GMT 13 August)

Kukes District: The overall industrial production plan for the 7-month period was exceeded by 4 million leks. (1330 GMT 10 August)

Librazhd District: The industrial production plan to 5 August was exceeded by 3 percent. (1800 GMT 8 August)

Mirdite District: The general 7-month industrial production plan was exceeded by 2 percent. (1800 GMT 7 August)

Permet District: The general industrial production plan for the 7-month period was overfulfilled by 1.7 million leks and the export plan by 300,000 leks. (1330 GMT 10 August)

Tirana District: The general industrial production plan for the 7-month period was fulfulled by 100 percent. (1800 GMT 12 August)

Leaders' Public Appearances 7-13 Aug

AU1308190188 [Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts between 7-13 August reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (time and date of broadcast in parentheses):

Rita Marko, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; and Pali Miska, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and Korce District AWP Committee first secretary, attended on 13 August a dinner given in Korce on the occasion of the anniversary of the first partisan brigade. (1800 GMT 13 August)

Pali Miska also attended a rally in the region of Devolli, Korce District, to mark the anniversary of a local partisan unit. (1800 GMT 7 August)

Restructuring Needed To Prevent Repeat of 1968
LD1208103188 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0730 GMT 12 Aug 88

[From the press review]

[Text] RUDE PRAVO and PRAVDA today carry the conclusion of the roundtable discussion on the events of 1968. The editorial offices of the two dailies have invited journalists and scientists, witnesses, and direct participants in the events. Those taking part in the discussion, quoting a number of specific examples, refute the right wing's propaganda thesis that in the developments in Czechoslovakia in 1968 right-wing forces were only a fringe issue. The claim is that there were right-wing forces, but they were a negligible force, unable to jeopardize anything. Ample proof has been given already, those taking part in the discussion note, that mainly with regard to their representatives and intentions, these phenomena were not negligible, nor were they negligible with regard to their size.

Thousands of people, as has been shown, opposed socialism, and became organized. Those forces stepped up their actions, as revealed in their platform "2000 Words," published in June. The greatest danger, however, was the fact that as right-wing forces were becoming organized, the socialist state's bodies of authority were systematically being crippled. On the one hand, the right wing was launching an offensive and on the other hand, authorities like security, prosecution bodies, all bodies of justice, and the Army were becoming paralyzed. The Border Guards and People's Militia were under attack too. The right wing was organizing itself with the aim of taking over power.

An important role in this was to be played by the planned CPCZ congress, at which the right-wing forces wanted to dissolve the Central Committee, as they found it bothersome and were forced to evade it for months and put their own people in all the top positions. The aim of the congress that was to be held in September 1968 was to legally remove honest socialist fighters from the Central Committee. In this connection, the roundtable discussion's participants have paid particular attention to various antisocialist structures, which came to life after 21 August. They have noted that the monopoly of the right wing in the media was absolute for some time after August. While before August honest people could be heard in RUDE PRAVO or elsewhere here and there, after August the right wing took everything into its hands.

The roundtable debates then concentrated on the lessons of 1968 for today. They say that we must not be put off explaining the events in 1968, as such an explanation is needed in connection with the necessity of restructuring. If we gave up restructuring, we would repeat the same errors that led to 1968. If it was necessary to deal with social problems at that time, it is even more pressing today.

We have entered a new stage, that of scientific-technical revolution and new technologies: The social, psychological, and ideological climate is different. People support restructuring. Most of them want to take an active part in it. We must fulfill their explanations and see and deal with the real problems.

Another lesson follows for the party, on whose initiative restructuring is taking place. The party is responsible for implementing revolutionary changes. The party will carry them out if it is unified and firm, if it is tied with the people and has their trust, if it correctly implements the Leninist concept of the vanguard of society, and if it renews the best traditions of Bolshevism, naturally taking into consideration current conditions and needs.

The path to reaching the goal is democratization of the party itself and democratization of its leading role. The lesson from that time has been paid for dearly and we must not lose any of it. It is our duty to say this and it is our duty toward people who were the main actors at that time and above all toward people who are in their thirties and to whom we shall pass the baton.

The participants in the roundtable discussion on 1968 emphasized in conclusion that it is important to recall that not everybody participated equally in deformations and that there were people at that time who were disoriented and found themselves in a situation with which they could not cope. Naturally, there were fighters at that time who did not fail even the most difficult tests, and there were people around who allowed our party and society to overcome the crisis and the consequences of the crisis and who fully restored collective socialist development.

'Little Napoleon' Dubcek's Abuse Ruined Reforms
AU1308185088 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Aug 88 p 3

[Milan Matous article: "Dubcek's Road From Tragedy to Farce"]

[Text] Is there still any sense in pondering the political role and the personal profile of Alexander Dubcek today, 20 years after the 1968 events? To a certain extent it is necessary, not because of his historical greatness, but because he is again activating himself politically—or, rather, is being "activated"—he has given an interview, and has even issued an "official declaration." Certain circles from abroad are courting him, giving him a rostrum, bestowing doctor honoris causa titles on him, and are trying to attract the world's attention to his name. This is part of an anti-Czechoslovak campaign which is connected with the 20th anniversary of the 1968 events, whether the individual principals—and Dubcek himself—fully realize it or not.

Pioneer of Restructuring or a Boulder in Its Path? [subhead]

Nowadays, Dubcek presents himself as a supporter of restructuring in the Soviet Union as well as in our

country, and even as the first and unacknowledged pioneer of its ideas. He, allegedly, tried to push them through in 1968, but his effort was thwarted by the military intervention of the five socialist countries and the subsequent political consolidation in the CSSR.

In 1968, sincere efforts reminiscent in many aspects of the present line of restructuring really appeared in our country. It was an attempt to overcome elements of economic and political stagnation and the administrative-bureaucratic forms of management. The important thing in the economy was to go from extensive to intensive management, to accelerate scientific-technical progress, to respect the law of value, and to support the independence and initiative of enterprises. All this was already reflected in the party documents after the 12th CPCZ Congress in 1962. In political life, the important thing was to strengthen socialist democracy and to overcome formalism. Ways were sought to enhance the role of elected bodies in the party, social organizations, and national committees, and to overcome the dominating role of the apparatuses, which have the tendency to transform democratic institution into "offices" estranged from the people. One strove for the rehabilitation of unjustly sentenced persons and for strengthening socialist legality. One contemplated ways to activate the organizations of the National Front, national committees, and all citizens. There were voices recommending the rotation of cadres and secret elections. Particular stress was put on activating Communists and party organizations, on developing intraparty democracy and democratic methods of implementing the party's leading role in society. In intellectual life, ways were sought to overcome dogmatic thinking and the influence of bourgeois ideology—by creatively developing science and culture—to oppose phenomena of subjectivism, pragmatism, and voluntarism. A number of citizens that were aware and dedicated to socialism, Communists, and non-party members were pointing out the need to combine patient ideological education with a sensitive relationship toward people who are still in the clutches of a different view of the world, as well as toward religious believers.

These healthy ideas and efforts found their expression in the conclusions and resolutions of the 13th CPCZ Congress in 1966. The January CPCZ Central Committee session in 1968 was to create conditions for energetically translating them into reality. They had the spontaneous support of the absolute majority of the party and the Czechoslovak people. Many people were so taken by these reformist ideas, by the awareness of the need to overcome the deformations of the past years, that they noticed too late that in the short time between the spring and the summer the situation in the party was placed under the sway of rightist, adventurous, and antisocialist elements, who were ever more dangerously transforming the justified slogans and demands into their exact antithesis, into the destruction of socialism.

Why did the healthy reformist, revivalist ideas not materialize in 1968? Surely, conservative forces, together with the harmful methods of work, which were practiced in the previous years, played a role here. However, in view of the spontaneous will of the party and the people for the necessary reforms, their influence was soon negligible. Much more serious was the fact that the management of social processes slipped out of the hands of the new party leadership. The course of events was increasingly dictated by opportunist forces, which were making pacts with anyone, even with downright antisocialist elements, with the remnants of the defeated classes of exploiters and the vestiges of their former political and ideological apparatus.

What did Dubcek, who was called at the January plenary session of the Central Committee to head the party, do? History inexorably proved that he did not live up to his tasks. No one will absolve him of his responsibility for the failure of the party leadership to acquaint the party aktiv, Communists, and the public with the line of the January [1968] plenum, and with the purpose of the changes which were to be carried out. An information vacuum was caused, and it was used by the right-wing forces for an onslaught on the political scene. The interpretation of the purpose of January became the monopoly of irresponsible individuals of the Kriegel, Sik, Smrkovsky, Spacek type, and other such types. The plan of measures, which would lead to the activation of the party, and political, economic, and ideological institutions, was not adopted quickly enough. Even though the CPCZ Central Committee decided to work out such a document in January, it took 3 months to realize this. The program of action, which was adopted in April, was—first—very general, and—second—already marked by a number of revisionist deformations. Cadre changes were not carried out in time and the leadership did not rely on capable people dedicated to the party. The assessment of persons who until then held responsible posts—from the highest to the most basic—became, in fact, the domain of the right wing. The assessment of persons was transformed into scandalizing honorable officials, into a chase after dedicated communists and aware non-party members, and into "disposing" of them. People who were politically and morally unstable and right-wing opportunists were appointed in their place.

The situation was becoming aggravated by the month, and by the week, and as a result of the onslaught of the righ-wing opportunist and antisocialist elements it acquired a counterrevolutionary character and society found itself on the verge of civil war. The party became an arena of a power struggle unleashed by the right wing, and the party bodies were in fact paralyzed. Ideological instruments were in the hands of the right wing and downright reactionaries, and were deployed as poisonous sources spreading antisocialism and anti-Sovietism. Antisocialist forces rapidly organized themselves by the tens of thousands. At the end of June, the pamphlet "2,000 Words" was actually an appeal to liquidate the power of the workers class in the country.

How can one say that what was involved under these conditions was "restructuring" of socialism? Its bare existence was at stake.

Who prevented the carrying out of the necessary and spontaneously demanded reforms? The opportunist forces, which gained the control of the party leadership did. In the beginning, it seemed that they were exploiting Dubcek's hesitation, his inability to bring himself to do anything. However, it gradually showed that Dubcek himself stood unequivocally on rightist positions and was asserting them.

The demands for reform could begin being implemented only in the period of political consolidation, only after the crisis in the party and society was overcome. Thus, this occurred with several years' delay and in an incomparably more difficult situation; the need to overcome the counterrevolution put the fundamental issue of class power sharply into the foreground, and pushed a number of weighty problems, which were coming to fruition during the 1960's, into the background. The crisis and the counterrevolution exhausted and weakened society.

Does Dubcek have the factual or moral right to proclaim himself pioneer of restructuring? He bears heavy personal responsibility for the fact that the healthy ideas of Leninist revival in Czechoslovakia in 1968 did not materialize, that the road to their assertion became longer and more difficult.

Democrat, or Little Napoleon? [subhead]

In 1968, nothing was so frequently repeated as words about democracy. Democratization is also today the real key to restructuring. It is the prerequisite for developing people's initiative and criticism, it calls for a better flow of information, and it provides conditions for a frank exchange of opinions. It is directly connected with what is the content of the term glasnost.

What treatment did Dubcek and his followers give to democracy in 1968? The criticism of the past was really "free," without moral scruples, regardless of the truth. It included assertions that socialism did not solve a single human problem in our country. It included rejecting February and the entire progressive Gottwaldian tradition. It included the fact that all errors and unpopular aspects of the past were blamed on the Soviet Union, that Leninism was openly rejected as, allegedly, exclusively Russian theory under the sway of its time. The bourgeois republic and its politicians, too, were freely idealized, and the legend was revived about the "heroic crusade of Russian legionnaires against Bolsheviks." Invented and published were speculations which were to excuse and to even justify antisocial crimes, such as sabotage, espionage activity, and the murder of members of the National Committee's Council in Babice. Honorable Communists and progressive people, who did not do anything wrong, but were for socialism, were "freely" scandalized. Information media were taking over old anti-Communist fabrications, for example, about the alleged murder of the then Foreign Minister Jan Masaryk.

Irresponsible journalists, such as Jezdinsky, Volny, Hochmann, Winter, Schulz, and others—a few months later employees of Radio Free Europe, who were slandering public officials, the staff of the State Security Corps, judges, and prosecutors—had "freedom," which was in fact arbitrariness. Attacked and wrongly accused, they were not allowed to respond. They had nowhere to turn. There was no place for them in newspapers, in the radio, or on the television. The right wing even temporarily seized control of the RUDE PRAVO editorial office. One could profess the Marxist-Leninist standpoint only "illegally." The journal ZPRAVY was published in this manner, and the broadcasts by the Vltava radio station were organized in this way.

How did this state of affairs conform with the words about democracy, words of which Dubcek had, and has even today, his mouth full?

Today he declares that his policy in 1968 was the policy of the party Central Committee. What was his real attitude and the attitude of the group of his intimate friends—Smrkovksky, Kriegel, Cernik, Mlynar, Cisar, Slavik, Spacek—toward the CPCZ Central Committee then? Their attitude toward the Central Committee was that of disparagement and rejection. They claimed that the Central Committee lost people's trust, that it had no "mandate," that "Novotny's people" were in it. What sort of an argument was that? After all, the greatest favorites of the then first party secretary A. Novotny were precisely Sik, Smrkovsky, Kriegel, Slavik, and Vaculik. What can we say about Dubcek? Novotny warmly recommended and pushed through his "Sasha" to head the CPSL Central Committee in 1963, and in January 1968, Novotny himself proposed Dubcek in his own stead as first secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee.

If the party Central Committee in 1968 presented an obstacle to these people who liked to depict themselves as "men of January," it was because it still was an authoritative body composed overwhelmingly of honorable Communists. Therefore, Dubcek was knowingly circumventing the Central Committee, not informing it, and did not let it discuss even such fateful issues as the standpoint of the fraternal parties on the growing rightist danger in Czechoslovakia, and the results of the deliberations of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee in Dresden. On behalf of the CPCZ—and without the knowledge of its Central Committee—he refused to attend the meeting of the representatives of the parties of the socialist countries in Warsaw. He also did not convene the Central Committee to discuss the conclusion of the talks in Cierna nad Tisou and in Bratislava, which were held in a most tense situation, in the twelfth hour, at the end of July and the beginning of August 1968.

There is even more. Dubcek did not even provide to the Central Committee Presidium truthful and frank information on those fateful deliberations. Several times he even instructed the Czechoslovak participants in the international deliberations to keep silent, in order to present to others his own subjective and absolutely distorted version of matters. The result was that even some members of the Central Committee Presidium did not find out in time the truth about the critical standpoint of the closest socialist allies on our developments. Dubcek concealed from a number of Presidium members the entire urgent correspondence with the leading representatives of the fraternal socialist countries, in which they warned against the growing danger of counterrevolution in Czechoslovakia, pressed for resolute measures, and offered help. Only on the fateful night of 21 August did Dubcek confess to members of the Central Committee Presidium that he had had an urgent letter from the CPSU Central Committee Politburo in his pocket since 17 August.

Dubcek was no pioneer of democratic freedoms in the party and society, but he became partly responsible for unparalleled autocratic manners. He assumed the right to decide for the whole of the party at the most fateful moments. He relied on a dangerous group of people who were linked together by revisionism, right-wing political opportunism, and unsatiated personal ambitions.

One of his traits was the great lack of reliability. One day he promised to rectify matters in information media which were slandering the party and socialism, and the next day he supported the most reactionary journalists. One day he wept, carried out self-criticism, and assured people that he would activate the party to protect socialism, and immediately afterward he accepted tribute from reactionaries and made them further fundamental political concessions. He also caused great harm by repeatedly deceiving our closest allies abroad. He assured them of measures which we would take to liquidate counterrevolution, but in practice he was doing exactly the opposite. Thanks to his lack of reliability, the party leadership lost its trustworthiness, and the representatives of the fraternal socialist countries no longer believed that we would be able to resolve the steadily deteriorating situation.

More than once, Dubcek prevaricated, "turned coat." Did he have his own political position at all? Many times he behaved according to the saying "Where the wind blows, the coat flutters," but it was not that innocent. Let us take a look at some concrete cases.

In May 1968, at a consultation of party regional and district committees, he described the rightist danger as being the most important, and spoke about the need to safeguard socialist achievements. (His speech was written for him by Z. Mlynar who, surprisingly, does not own up to it today.) However, in the days that followed, he did not move a finger when the Club of Committed Non-Party Members—actually an illegal political party—published its anticommunist programmatic declaration; or when F. Kriegel met with the illegal preparatory central committee for the renewal of social democracy; or when the group of the Prague center around B. Simon came forward with a composite right-wing opportunist concept openly expressing the effort to form a factional counterbalance to the party Central Committee.

Another piece of evidence of Dubcek's double face is the stance on the resolution of the November plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee in 1968, which exposed the role of antisocialist forces and characterized right-wing opportunism as the main danger within the party. Dubcek agreed even with this document, which actually laid the groundwork for a program of socialist political consolidation in the country. However, from the highest party function he not only did nothing to translate this resolution into life, but with all his energy, with all his influence, and with all his remaining authority he continued to help keep the party and the public in a state of insecurity, nervousness, and tension.

Yes. Dubcek many times maneuvered and turned with the wind like a weathercock, but eventually his political azimuth was always the same. He clearly sided with rightist-opportunist forces, enforced their policy, and was their chief iron in the fire.

How can a man who so cynically deceived the party, his closest comrades, the millions of citizens who believed him, and the allies who offered him a helping hand at the most difficult moments, pledge allegiance to glasnost, to open policy?

It became clear, especially after 21 August, how far "democratization" under Dubcek's leadership went. A rabid chase after people who had the courage to openly speak up for the ideas of socialism and proletarian internationalism was launched. At that time a mob in Kosice lynched the wife of a party functionary. Criminal elements destroyed apartments of Communists, sadists were tormenting psychologically and torturing physically children of citizens at whom someone pointed a finger and depicted as "collaborators." He who did not betray internationalism was a "collaborator."

When the "Black Book" appeared in the fall of 1968, which was a compilation—without critical evaluation—of incendiary radio and television programs, fabrications, slander, inventions from various printed matter, as well as—literally—invectives engraved on the walls of lavatories during the last 10 days of August, Academician Josef Macek received, with Dubcek's blessing, a high state prize for this "scientific work" of his. Such were in those days the norms of freedom of speech and science. Can a man, who was the most responsible for this, compare without blushing these outrages with the principles of democratization and glasnost?

Herostratian Glory [subhead]

Dubcek, obviously, wanted to be a great historical personality and to this day does not want to abandon that vision. Many people support and affirm him in this.

In 1968, in an unusually short period of time, he won popularity in Czechoslovakia, and his name went around the world. The causes for this were contradictory. People were connecting with his name and, especially with his function, hopes and expectations of promised democratization reforms, revival of the economy, and growth of material and intellectual standards. However, right-wing and downright anticommunist circles were doing great personal public relations work for him. They saw his weak spots and saw their chance in him. They made him the symbol of opportunist, anti-Soviet policy, the instrument for fanning conflicts in the international communist and workers movement.

The right wing was exploiting his weak spots and vices. He was the type of functionary who lets everything be "prepared" for him. He only read speeches written by others. When he was forced to speak "off the cuff," his thoughts were chaotic. Literally embarrassing scenes were occurring during international deliberations. Foreign partners did not comprehend the sense of his incoherent words and interpreters were desperate and did not know what to translate. This was the consequence of his mediocre abilities and considerable indolence. This, in the fateful moment, made it possible for dangerous "gray eminences" to speak and make decisions in his name from behind the scenes. The question arises how is this related today to his interviews and declarations. There is no reason to presume that, compared with the past, much has changed regarding his intelligence and methods of work.

Dexterous manipulators quickly discerned Dubcek's vanity and smugness, how glory elated him. To promote their own interests they were organizing celebrations and paying homage to him, which verged on comedy. Thereby they skillfully obliged him and, by apportioning doses of popularity and threatening its erosion, manipulated him. As is apparent, Dubcek still has not come down to earth from the false elation and is unable to look at his historical role realistically and critically.

How did those who so ostentatiously glorified him and who today again extol his "progressiveness" really view him? When in November 1968 Z. Mlynar resigned as secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, he cited as his motive that he could no longer work with this—what followed was a non-literary term designating a person of poor intelligence. In an interview for BBC broadcast on 13 December 1987, Ota Sik said: "Dubcek was weak, incapable of providing leadership, without views and convictions of his own." I. Svitak, a political adventurer who started out as an extreme dogmatist and in the period of crisis acted as the chief ideologue of the antiparty organization KAN [Club of Committed Nonparty Members], wrote in 1979 in emigration that Dubcek "did not understand what was going on either before or after the occupation and he thus became the ideal liquidator of his own work." This characterization is recalled by the semi-official U.S. quarterly FOREIGN AFFAIRS in this year's summer issue. However, this does not prevent reactionary propaganda from presenting Dubcek as an unacknowledged prophet of "renewal," which was supposedly stifled in Czechoslovakia only because it came too early, 17 years earlier than in the Soviet Union.

Does Dubcek really think that he is helping restructuring and the cause of socialism when he speaks out against the CPCZ's policy to the French Press Agency, on Austrian television, or on the Voice of America program? He is flattered by the interest of the "seventh superpower" and is therefore courting popularity. Is he so naive that he does not realize why these institutions are seeking him out again, precisely today, and whom and which cause he is serving? He may have dreamed of co-shaping history but, in reality, he was but an instrument of the right wing and today is a puppet of even the most reactionary circles. It is they who move him, whatever he may think about himself and his historic greatness.

The question needs to be asked in this context: Was he not, and is he not, just erring without harboring any bad intentions? After all, prior to 1968 he never expressed any antisocialist, anti-Marxist, and anti-Soviet views.

It is quite possible that in the first months of 1968 he may have been committing mistakes without realizing their impact. As the events took their course, however, he could not fail to see where things were heading, against whom he himself was going, who was pushing him around and extolling him. He was not that naive. He was a politician by profession, he had, at least formally, a high-level political education, and he had spent most of his life in political functions.

Even if we conceded, on an abstract plane, that the dramatic tide of events in 1968 made him so dizzy that he was unable to clearly see who was who and that he was surrounded by a web of mediated and adapted information and misinformation, what can be said about his positions and his bearing today? Does he not see where the protagonists of his policy in emigration such as Mlynar, Sik, Goldstuecker, Loebl, Pachman, and tens of others have landed, what true political colors they have revealed? Does he not realize that he has found himself in one line with the "Chartists," with the internal fifth column made up of collaborators of Radio Free Europe, the Paris-based [Czech-language quarterly] SVEDECTVI, and other instruments of anticommunism?

In every other sentence of his public statements today, Dubcek invokes the Action Program. He often quotes from it and tries to prove its analogy with the ideas of current restructuring. This in itself is but another piece

of evidence of his dishonest game. He knows well that the Action Program was born in sharp struggle between Marxist-Leninist and revisionist representatives, that precisely the ideas that he quotes could be pushed through only in sharp controversy and against his closest allies. Only a few lines further below, there often followed revisionist and unacceptable positions on the same issue. He prefers not to mention these. What is more, immediately after its approval the right wing declared the Action Program a "stillborn child." The right wing's ambitions regarding the destruction of socialism were progressing at a fast pace. In the months that followed, Dubcek himself devoted very little attention to the Action Program and the documents drawn up for the planned party congress, which was to convene in early September, were much worse and had very little in common with Marxism. So why is he so transparently hypocritical about the Action Program today?

Dubcek and those who are pulling his wires speculate with people's short memory, but they are mistaken. People in Czechoslovakia may not remember the details, but the basic historical lessons from the year 1968 have become deeply fixed in their memories. One of them is the knowledge that socialism is a great historical chance, but that it does not come about automatically. The coming true, or the thwarting, of this chance depends on the wisdom of party policy and, ultimately, mainly on the people who enact it. If Dubcek has really in some way gone down in the history of the international communist and workers movement, it is primarily as a warning memento. He proved that when, at a fateful moment, a man who has become unfaithful to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the moral principles of a communist comes to head the party and a socialist country, such a man can bring society to the brink of catastrophe.

It may well still be possible, through skillful propaganda and with the help of a powerful ideological mechanism, to tell the public in the capitalist part of the world fairy tales about Dubcek as a pioneer of the ideas of restructuring or even to compare him with Comrade Gorbachev. For a judicious person this is no longer just absurd, but it is naive and ridiculous. For our party and public these comparisons are more than farfetched.

New Economic Rules in Agriculture Outlined

AU1208121988 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Aug 88 p 1

[Zdenek Hoffmann report: "Equal Conditions for All; On New Rules of Management in the Agricultural-Food Complex"; boldface passages as published]

[Text] Prague— **A new mechanism of management will be applied in the agricultural-food complex as of 1 January 1989. The agricultural public is now familiarizing itself with a draft document on the comprehensive implementation of the new mechanism, which has been discussed by the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and approved by the CSSR Government. The draft is based on the directive for ensuring the comprehensive restructuring of the CSSR economic mechanism and on the laws on state enterprises and agricultural cooperatives.**

The drafting of the document took an open and democratic course. The aktivs, conferences, seminars, and consultations, at which participants—and, through the information media, also the general agricultural public—were familiarized with the progress of work and envisaged solutions to individual problems, produced proposals for the final version of the draft document. In addition to the staff of central agencies and the party apparatus, its formulation was also the work of the scientific-research front and leading enterprise representatives.

The New Economic Mechanism builds on experiences from the implementation of the system of planned management in the agricultural-food complex, which has been in force since 1 January 1982. Key changes concern, in particular, the sphere of economic instruments. The principles applied will be identical with those applied in the other sectors of material production—a 50 percent levy on wages and profits and a uniform 4.5 percent rate of profit in relation to production assets. **The crucial role in the newly established system of planned management will be played by economic instruments.**

Along with generally valid normative rules [normativy], taxes, allocations, and designated tasks of the plan, economic instruments are becoming the main tools, by means of which the economic center will provide guidance, on the basis of the principles of economic accountability and self-financing, for producers to act in accordance with the interests of society. The intention is to **enhance the independence of enterprises and united agricultural cooperatives, their interest in applying scientific-technical progress, and the development of socialist entrepreneurship** while expanding their powers and, at the same time, responsibility for final economic performance.

While the document was being drafted, the following question was often raised: Agriculture has always had its own system of management, so why do we adopt uniform economic principles? **The reason for taking this step was not only the requirement to guarantee a uniform economic climate—that is, essentially equal economic conditions for all enterprises and branches; it was also motivated by the attained development level of production forces in agriculture, which is much higher than in the past.** Agricultural and nonagricultural (industrial) production are now markedly intertwined, which requires harmonization between the principles and instruments of agricultural management with those operating in the national economy as a whole.

It was also necessary to refute the view that restructuring would disproportionately drain resources from agriculture, especially as a result of the newly imposed levies on

profits and wages. **The resultant relation of agriculture toward the state budget will remain essentially unchanged. However, a far greater economic pressure will be brought to bear on enterprises and a greater differentiation among them will occur.** Those relying on the expectation that everything will somehow turn out well in the end will do badly. The aim is not to artificially create differences, but neither is it to seek painless solutions. That would be a step back.

The fact that an incompetent organization, collective, or individual will bear the consequences of its unsuccessful economic performance must not be regarded as something negative. **In the new economic conditions there is no room for keeping lagging organizations alive cost what it may. United agricultural cooperatives and state farms operating in below-average economic conditions will be granted a compensatory payment and their conditions for further development will be essentially the same as those of other organizations.** Although in the first stage, temporarily, use is to be made of strictly purpose-bound subsidies to lagging enterprises, in the subsequent period one will apply the principle of the abolition of inefficient organizations, in line with the laws on state enterprises and agricultural cooperatives.

Much interest focused on transition to the two-tier organization of management in agriculture. Following a discussion of the issue in the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, the Federal Government decided that **effective 1 January 1989 regional and district agricultural administrations will be abolished as intermediary tiers of management. Effective the same date, territorially-based ministerial units will be set up. This is not a case of painting over the company nameplate. Their range of activity will be substantially reduced and their staff will be cut 50 percent. Such units will not be formed in all districts either.**

The activity of the new territorially-based units will be aimed at ensuring, without unnecessary duplication and while retaining uniform management from the center, on the territory in question tasks arising, on the one hand, from their status as founders in relation to state organizations and, on the other, from their status as agencies of economic management in relation to cooperative organizations. It is foreseen that they will engage in analytical activity, in formulating and implementing plans, long-term projections, and concepts, in itemizing designated tasks of the plan, in protecting land resources and the environment, in control activity, and so forth.

More than 20 activities that have until now been part of the job description of agricultural administrations will not be included among the tasks of territorially-based units and will henceforth be settled in direct contact of the relevant state agencies and social organizations with agricultural enterprises, without any intermediary link at the district or regional level. The units will be freed, above all, of day-to-day managerial activity, that is, of assigning tasks in production and its use, of monitoring procurement plans, and of direct interference in affairs that fall in the competence of the enterprise.

This and other information on the course of restructuring the management mechanism in the agricultural-food complex was provided by Miroslav Zajic, head of a CPCZ Central Committee department, and Svatopluk Chalupa, CSSR deputy minister of agriculture and food, at a seminar for journalists on Tuesday [9 August].

Reports of Political Detainees Denied
LD1208154788 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1419 GMT 12 Aug 88

[Text] Berlin, 12 Aug (ADN)—Reports in the Western media about an alleged 1,000 political detainees in the GDR are lies from beginning to end.

Three Killed in Freight Train Collision
LD1408121088 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1034 GMT 14 Aug 88

[Text] Frankfurt/Oder, 14 Aug (ADN)—On Sunday morning a locomotive collided with a freight train whose cargo included technical equipment of the National People's Army (NVA). The collision occurred between the Saaten- Neuendorf and Luedersdorf railway stations on the Angermuende-Bad Freienwalde section (GDR Frankfurt area). The engineer and two NVA members were killed. The other engineer and three soldiers were injured. They are receiving medical attention at the Angermuende and Eberswalde hospitals.

In the accident both locomotives and eight freight cars were derailed, six of which toppled over. One diesel locomotive caught fire. Alternative local transport was arranged. An investigation into the cause of the accident has not yet been concluded.

Wall's 'Positive Effect' Aids Peace, Cooperation
LD1208122288 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0110 GMT 12 Aug 88

[Text] Berlin, 12 Aug (ADN)—The leading article published by NEUES DEUTSCHLAND on Friday to mark 13 August 1961 is entitled "For Peace, for Socialism." Here is the text:

13 August 1961 is a prominent date in history, not only for our people, but for Europe. Its positive effects continue in the present and future. That summer day 27 years ago is closely linked with the struggle for preserving and strengthening peace, security, and cooperation on our continent.

We will recall the situation at the time because the interval since then is lengthening and many have not experienced the events themselves. We are also recalling it because many in the West would like to draw a veil of oblivion over the real facts of 13 August, particularly over the fact that the plundering of the GDR by the Federal Republic had already reached a figure surpassing M100 billion. The open border that existed between the GDR and FRG until 13 August 1961 and unrestricted travel—which was sometimes disrupted by FRG police organs, for example by encircling 30,000 participants at the German meeting of young people near Herrnburg—had no influence on the FRG Government in creating peaceful, normal relations between the FRG and GDR.

In 1960-61 the international situation worsened. The Western powers responded to proposals by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries for preserving peace and settling the abnormal situation in Berlin (West) with hysteria and open threats of military force. The then Federal Chancellor, Adenauer, who was subsequently rightly described in the West as the real architect of the "Wall," demanded the "liberation of the Eastern zone." Plans were hatched, as WEHRPOLITISCHE RUNDSCHAU wrote already in March 1961, for "change of the status quo by force." The attack was tested and standby areas were occupied in a series of NATO maneuvers. Bonn devoted itself to measures for transforming publicly-owned enterprises and agricultural cooperatives into capitalist concerns. Every attempt was made, particularly by using the "frontline city" of Berlin (West) with its 164 kilometers of open borders with the GDR—45 kilometers of them with our capital—to cause harm to our republic: espionage, sabotage, currency speculation, targetting recruitment of technical skills, and transfer of material assets.

"D-day" designated for the aggression appeared to be imminent. As a result, the governments of the Warsaw Pact member states addressed a proposal to the People's Chamber and government and to all GDR working people to introduce measures on the border with West Berlin which would thwart the subversive activities against the socialist countries. Reliable guarding and effective controls should be ensured right around the area of Berlin (West) and the safeguarding of the state frontier with the FRG should be strengthened. And so it happened. The operation of 13 August was prepared within a short period and thoroughly organized. It thwarted the plans of aggression. The socialist German state was strengthened in every respect. A clear rebuff was dealt to the revanchist thesis of the continuation of the German Reich in the borders of 1937.

We want to do justice to those forces that recognized comparatively quickly what had happened. Shortly after 13 August, INDUSTRIEKURIER, which is published in Duesseldorf, wrote: "A reunification with garlands and fluttering flags and victorious! Entry of the Bundeswehr through the Brandenburg Gate with fife and drum—there will be no such reunification in the forseeable future. We will have to put up with the coexistence of two German states for a long time."

In fact there was a process of reflection and also rethinking in the West after 13 August. With some people this took place more quickly, with others more slowly. Some have to this day failed to digest the lessons of history. For that reason, we stress the following results of 13 August:

A notable contribution was made to the peaceful development of Europe and the world as a result of the GDR's action, which was coordinated with, and supported by, Warsaw Pact allies. Peace, which was achieved in 1945 with such great sacrifices by the anti-Hitler coalition and its main force, the Soviet Union, was defended. On the

sensitive border, along which the two world systems confront one another with their major military forces, the basis of safeguarding security in Europe was strengthened. Subsequent developments have confirmed that peace and order in that region are in the interests of East and West.

The power of workers and peasants on German soil was effectivly protected. We won a firm foundation for our work of construciton. Nearly 10 years after 13 August 1961, the Eighth SED Congress was able to stipulate the goal of shaping advanced socialist society in the GDR. The efficiency of our economy grew. A comprehensive sociopolitical program was tackled. The unity of economic and social policy unfolded for the welfare of the people. As a result of the diligence of the working people, the GDR advanced into the ranks of the 10 most industrialized nations. Its agriculture developed into one of the most efficient in Europe. As the theses of the SED Central Committee on the 70th anniversary of the founding of the KPD state, the GDR "decisively countered all efforts by those aggressive forces in the NATO states which call into question the European borders under revanchist and nationalist slogans and aim to correct the present political and social status quo in favor of imperialism. The socialist German state resolutely works to ensure that the principles of peaceful coexistence become a univerally recognized norm in relations between states with different social orders."

The Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin (West) came about, as did the Basic Treaty between the GDR and FRG, the European system of treaties in general, and the Helsinki Final Act. The two German states became members of the United Nations and its special organizations. The GDR is recognized worldwide. A total of 134 states maintain diplomatic relations with it. After the stationing of the Pershing-2's and cruise missiles in West Europe, our Republic developed political dialogue under the motto of continuing, now more than ever, the struggle for peace and cooperation. It openly advocates damage limitation and is opposed to the idea of the citizens of the GDR and FRG, as well as the inhabitants of Berlin (West) only being able to see each other through the gaps of a missile fence. The GDR promotes mutually advantageous cooperation on the basis of the principles of international law and consideration for the legitimate interests of its partner. It cultivates political, economic, scientific-technical, and cultural relations with all countries.

This applies also to relations with the Federal Republic of Germany. This was made clear to the world by Erich Honecker's official visit of last September. The hoisting of their national flags on the Rhine was in itself a matter of the self-evident truth that in the heart of Europe two independent, sovereign German states exist whose very history requires them to work to ensure that a third world war does not emanate from German soil. What emerged in the talks with the leading FRG politicians, with industrialists, cultural and intellectual forces, workers, and farmers and from the joint communique was: Much has been achieved between the two German states, which belong to opposing social systems and political-military alliances, in the political, economic, scientific-technical, and cultural spheres and in other areas, not least in the humanitarian sphere.

The two German states are making efforts to implement the statements made in the joint communique. Talks between ministers, experts, parliamentarians, and representatives of parties and mass organizations are an everyday occurence. Private tourist traffic has reached considerable proportions. The situation on the borders betwen the GDR, the FRG, and Berlin (West) has, despite various provocations, improved. Meanwhile it has got about that the two German states can live in peace and make their contribution to peace and cooperation in Europe if they remain aware of their responsibility.

A further requirement is that the two German states must meet their special responsibility for peace and their obligation to peace. We have proposed the creation of a nuclear weapons-free corridor in central Europe on either side of the frontier which runs between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, in the spirit of further disarmament steps in line with the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles: a zone thinned down in military terms, a zone of trust and security. A meeting between defense ministers H. Kessler and R. Scholz has been proposed.

As is known, these initiatives go hand-in-hand with the proposals of the Warsaw Pact member states for reducing armed forces and armaments in Europe. Efforts are being made to reduce the armies between the Atlantic and the Urals to equal, lower ceilings in accordance with the principle of equality and equal security. The danger of surprise attacks is eliminated right from the start in the course of this process. Tactical nuclear weapons, too, are to be reduced and ultimately scrapped. The aim is a situation in which each side is capable only of defense and no longer of an offensive.

The secured frontier between the GDR capital, Berlin, and Berlin (West), as well as between the two German states, has ensured for 27 years that peace prevails in Europe. This will continue to be the case if goodwill maintains the upper hand not only in our country, but on both sides. This will also assist in finding solutions for the future which serve above all peace and cooperation in the interests of both sides.

Everyone can rely on the GDR to do everything in its power, as decided by the 11th SED Congress, for peace, security, and cooperation in Europe, for the welfare of the people in a dependable and predictable way. It was, is, and remains a cornerstone of peace and socialism in Europe.

SED Official on CEMA-EEC Cooperation

AU1208135688 East Berlin HORIZONT in German No 8 1988 in German p 5

[Article by Max Schmidt, director of the International Politics and Economics Institute: "CEMA-EC: Perspectives of Cooperation"]

[Text] The signing of the "Joint Statement on the Opening of Official Relations Between CEMA and the EC" in Luxembourg on 15 June 1988 was a historic event of great political and economic importance for our continent.

Europe—Our Common Home [subhead]

Europe is very contradictory in itself but still a uniform entity. On the one hand it is divided by:

—States with different social systems;
—Different systems of alliance;
—Different economic groups;
—A variety of states with differing political structures, interests, traditions, and, last but not least, the existence of nine neutral and nonaligned states.

On the other, interdependence is increasing on our continent. This results from:

—The common threat to our lives;
—Joint security interests as a result of the density of the weapons and armed forces deployed in this region and the danger resulting therefrom;
—The high level of industrialization;
—Ecological problems, which are greater here than in other regions of the world;
—Increasing internationalization of economic life;
—The possibilities and dangers of scientific-technological progress;
—Europe's integration—in political, military, and economic terms—in the world as an entity.

All this forces us to devote greater intellectual, political, and diplomatic efforts to shaping Europe as our common home. The signing of the joint statement is in line with this need, it is one of the building stones of the "common European home." In this connection, we should always remember the fact that Europe offers good preconditions for life in a common house, which must be used, increased, and developed further. We have the bitter lessons and experiences of two world wars, of the cold war, but also the positive experiences of detente.

We have a European system of treaties on the recognition of territorial and political realities, and the basis for a house order in the form of the CSCE Final Act.

We have great economic and scientific-technological potentials and other resources, we have earned respect and gained weight in foreign policy, and, last but not least, we have great common cultural traditions. We must build on this when cooperation between the two large economic organizations on our continent begins.

The statement clearly expresses the political will of both sides to arrive at constructive results after long and complicated negotiations; in this way an end was put to an old anachronism. As a matter of fact, the fact that officially neither side took practically any notice of the other no longer fitted into the picture of the European reality.

It was not a mere coincidence that relations were started at a time when a general change toward the better has become discernible in international cooperation, when the first steps toward disarmament have been made and others have been initiated. Better chances for more political stability and security and for new forms of behavior among states and organizations have opened up.

The agreement on the so-called territorial clause testifies to the goodwill of both sides to achieve a reconciliation of interests: On the one hand the close relations between West Berlin and the FRG are accepted as reality; at the same time the political fact is stressed that according to the Quadripartite Agreement, West Berlin does not belong to the FRG, that it must not be governed by the FRG, and that this must not be questioned by anything in the joint statement.

Now it is important to breathe life into the joint statement, to diplomatically shape the official relations between the groups and between the states and groups, and to develop a multifaceted system of contractual relations between the two integration systems in order to make a contribution to unfolding economic cooperation.

After economic relations between East and West received a strong boost from the mid-seventies to the beginning of the eighties, they underwent vacillations and suffered setbacks in the following years as a result of economic and political events. The exchange of goods between the European CEMA states and EC countries amounted to $58 billion in 1987, which accounts for two-thirds of the exchange of goods between all OECD and CEMA countries.

For More Trade and Cooperation [subhead]

Provided that all sides show enough political will and constructive political-economic action, there is sufficient opportunity to channel and minimize negative economic influences in order to clear the way for trade and cooperation.

What are the starting points for this?

1. The coming months will be devoted to the preparation and development of a network of new agreements and treaties between the groups and member countries. The

spheres of future cooperation are to be determined. The conclusion of trade agreements on the basis of equal rights and mutual advantage are to be placed in the foreground of mutual interests. During the expert talks on 27 and 28 June 1988, the GDR, too, expressed its willingness toward the EC to open negotiations on a mutual trade agreement in the near future.

The discussion about trade agreements will certainly be characterized by deliberations on the gradual elimination of trade obstacles, such as customs barriers, limitations of the value and quantity of CEMA supplies, various tendering and permit procedures, and additional technical trade barriers (such as test specifications). Ultimately, it is in the interest of all sides to eliminate insecurities in mutual relations.

The exporters from EC countries would have better opportunities to supply goods to the CEMA market, if they, for their part, granted more favorable conditions to the CEMA partners for the sale of products within the EC. Then the CEMA countries would certainly be prepared to conclude agreements on additional imports.

If we discuss the economic prospects of CEMA-EC relations, we do this with an eye on the creation of the EC single market. The "European single market," planned for 1992, will constitute a far-reaching internal liberalization within the EC. A chance for Europe, however—which has been defined as the goal—will only be opened up if internal liberalization is accompanied by external liberalization. Capitalist non-EC members have expressed fears that this development will harm their own economic interests. We also state: In case sufficient progress is not achieved at an early date in dismantling barriers in order to provide access to the EC market, which includes negotiations between the CEMA countries and the EC, for example, doubts will remain that additional burdens will be placed on economic relations between East and West.

2. A new interplay will start between the communities and between individual countries from one group and the headquarters of the other group—as is the case when stipulating contractual regulations for trade relations with the competent authorities in Brussels. A number of agreements and treaties have already been concluded between the governments of individual CEMA and EC states. Agreements for the actual exchange of goods, for scientific-technological cooperation, for individual cooperation projects will continue to be concluded and realized between enterprises or institutions.

On the one hand, relations between the groups are superordinate to bilateral relations between the states, but on the other proven agreements that have been concluded on a bilateral basis and have proven to be good will be continued according to the tested principle Pacta sunt servanda [agreements must be observed]. In this case there is no need to conduct negotiations and take decisions on a multilateral basis.

But it may be necessary to sufficiently define the spheres of mutually advantageous cooperation, multilateral or bilateral. This includes science and technology, economic cooperation, the sphere of energy, environmental protection, traffic regulations, standards and norms, statistics and information. Allocations to the bilateral and multilateral spheres are to be examined both at a group level and at the level of individual countries. In this, the positions of several countries on various projects that are of joint interest should be concentrated on a multilateral basis and made the object of skeleton agreements between the organs of the communities.

In addition, it seems to be useful to discuss in detail issues concerning economic security between the two groups and write down proposals and stipulate rules if this is necessary.

3. From our viewpoint, future-oriented spheres of technology must be another target for a future engagement of the partners. The most important fields of cooperation include microelectronics, information and communication technology, energetics, biotechnology, environmental protection, chemistry, foodstuffs industry, traffic, space research, and laser technology. This concerns both new large-scale projects and tailor-made projects involving repair, modernization, modification, and the use of new technology.

On-Site Technology Checks [subhead]

Flourishing economic relations between East and West require the establishment of conditions under which the countries of the European integration groups have equal access, as free as possible, to the new achievements of science and technology. The principles and practice of, for instance, the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls (COCOM) of NATO and Japan seem virtually anachronistic. With an internationally organized, military-bureaucratic process of control and permission-granting this committee is trying to preserve as long as possible the privileges of a few industrial states—including, in particular, the leading Western power, the United States—over their allies (that are partners and rivals at the same time), and wants to stubbornly force socialist countries to "reinvent the wheel" so to speak.

Of course, it would be best to replace the destructive COCOM strategy of decoupling and the Washington Export Administration Act with technology transfer without artificial barriers. But it would already be a step in the right direction to stimulate technology transfer by, for instance, on-site technology checks in line with the principles agreed at the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe. U.S. export bans or COCOM sanctions would then be obsolete, even in the light of one-sided Western arguments. Things that are accepted in the

verification of strategically sensitive objects, such as missile launch pads, missile silos, or arms factories, should, after all, not be excluded with regard to technology for civilian use.

4. A new quality of relations will have to be characterized by new forms and methods of cooperation, which will probably also play a role in defining questions of mutual interest for negotiations. These will certainly include industrial cooperation projects, cooperation on third markets, and scientific-technological cooperation projects; a number of countries have started to establish joint ventures.

The present increase in industrial cooperation between East and West is indeed opening up chances for new structures with cooperative division of labor between CEMA and EC states. Measured by the entire East-West trade, trade resulting from industrial cooperation is, however, still small. Special support to and promotion of all kinds of industrial cooperation should, therefore, become an important task.

5. The joint statement concerns, above all, the work of the European integration groups. However, the economic effects of interdependent relations have to be considered on a wider scope. Europe is more than CEMA and EC together. This means that we have to turn in constructive cooperation to the "nonintegrated" countries in Europe. The EFTA countries are not only strongly interested in the future single EC market (and, at the same time, like us, they are concerned about it), but are also interested in cooperation between CEMA and EC. Should this far-reaching interest not be utilized for the benefit of all sides? Would this—in addition to many other questions—not be a topic for a conference on economic cooperation in Europe? Such a conference has been proposed at the Vienna CSCE meeting and the GDR has been working for its holding and success.

Deepened relations between countries of the integration communities must not turn against third states. The GDR would not accept any contract that would have a negative effect on the mutually beneficial relations with, for instance, Austria, Switzerland, Sweden, Finland, or Yugoslavia. Much rather, we expect additional stimuli to bilateral relations with third countries.

Open to the World [subhead]

6. Finally, attention has to be drawn to one fact: Even though we, as Europeans, are concerned with our own continent, Europe is not the world, of course, and it must not center its interests only on Europe and isolate itself. A Europe of cooperation must be open to the world and must become more aware of its coresponsibility for such questions as underdevelopment of the "Third World," hunger, social misery, and so on.

It is certain that Europe alone cannot solve the world's problems in the future, either. But there is no doubt that uniting its efforts would tangibly increase the European contribution to this. There is not only a common European home. This term applies to the world as a whole, in which Europe itself is only an apartment that is vitally linked with the others through varied and growing interdependent relations.

As partners of East-West cooperation, we will turn to the other great economic centers, such as the United States, Japan, or China and will also be open to cooperation with the developing countries.

Romanian Resettlement Policy Discussed
LD1408155188 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0410 GMT 14 Aug 88

[From the "Sunday Newspaper" program]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] When the sad truth, that the execution of the settlement development plan has started—that is, the destruction of several thousand villages—became clear beyond a doubt in Hungary, outside and moreover preceding, voices were raised by official forums, societies, professonals, and PPF committees and residents, as well as social organizations. However, the soliciting of one view, which in this case is particularly relevant to the interest of public opinion, has been lacking until now. Julia Szell has visited the border area a few hundred meters inside Hungarian territory.

[Szell] This is Melykerek, a national minority village [nemzetisegi koezseg] in Hungary; a Romanian-populated village along the border with Romania. [Words indistinct] with the residents of the village about the events in Romania, or rather, about what they think about it.

[First unidentified speaker] The truth is, that it is such a question that (?we) are not clear in our minds as to what is happening there. However, in my view it cannot be so bad. I do not say this because I am Romanian but there is excess there. Soldiers also come over. [passage omitted]

[Second unidentified speaker] Everybody should decide for himself. There was also a time here when hamlets [tanyak] were attacked by bulldozers. I can conceive that there are 20 families up on the mountain, that a settlement is erased because it is not worth taking up water, building a culture home, bringing in a doctor for 20-100 people. But to destroy a village on such a large land—Romania cannot be so rich that it can afford to destroy that.

[Szell] Mrs Mihaly (?Poka), you are chairperson of the Melykerek Council, member of the Board of the Romanian Federation, and chairman of the National Minority Subcommittee of the Bekes County Council. Let me ask you what people are saying about all this in the village?

[(?Poka)] I must say honestly that the people of Melykerek are not very preoccupied with this issue. We are preoccupied with our own work, activity, tasks. [passage omitted]

[Gyorgy Berenyi, chairman of the local PPF] What takes place over there should be seen because not much credence can be given to hearsay about what really takes place there. Naturally, it is painful, very painful to the Hungarians there, I think if the same thing would happen to us...

[Szell, interrupting] Not only to Hungarians, Romanians, too...

[Berenyi, interrupting] If the same thing would happen to us, here in Hungary, it would be very painful. [passage omitted]

[Szell] What do you think about the Romanian territorial settlement, about which, I think, everybody in this village knows?

[Sandor Meke, citizen] Well, I do not want to go deeply into this. Let me tell you why. It is not a good thing to deal with this now. It is not a good thing to probe into things. What is needed is that we should leave in peace.

[Szell] (?If this is needed), you live in peace, I think.

[Meke] Well, we live in peace, of course. What we hear in the radio and television is as much as we know. But the small people are in no way responsible for the fact that somebody in power has such an idea and that he intends to implement it. We should tell him in vain not to do it, it is possible that our advice would not be heeded.

[Announcer] Sentiments, arguments, and words have not often been heeded here in the Danube-Tisza region. We should recognize that we should pay attention to each other's words with respect and trust. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Before we end, here is some brief information about the telephone calls to the editorial office. Many called our members after our report on Melykerek, the Romanian national minority village, went on the air. One caller who put it like this: I am shocked by the indifference of the official interviewees. There was another who thought that what was said was a proof of greed. I agree with those who thought that what was said was a proof of shyness. Yes, shyness induced even among the national minorities living in examplary agreement and peacefulness by the situation which in terms of space is so near but which in terms of social decency is so remote.

Marjai, GDR's Kleiber Discuss CEMA Issues
LD1408200988 Budapest MTI in English 1826 GMT 14 Aug 88

[Text] On Sunday Jozsef Marjai, deputy prime minister held discussions with Guenther Kleiber, deputy prime minister of the GDR and permanent CMEA representative of the GDR who is on a private visit in Hungary. At the meeting of friendly atmosphere the Hungarian-GDR economic relations and some contemporary issues of the CMEA cooperation were discussed.

Grosz, Others Receive Envoy to Pakistan

LD1208124088 Budapest MTI in English 1201 GMT 12 Aug 88

[Text] Budapest, August 12 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and chairman of the Council of Ministers, Istvan Sarlos, vice-president of the Presidential Council, and Istvan Stadinger, president of the National Assembly, met Andras Dallos, Hungarian ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary accredited to the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, who is shortly to leave for his post.

Committee Head on Constitution Revision Progress

LD1408172888 Budapest MTI in English 1642 GMT 14 Aug 88

[Text] Budapest, August 14 (MTI)—Working committees are engaged in developing guidelines and the proposed text of the Constitution. In the committees legal experts and representatives of state and social organizations are working.

On the tasks of the working committee dealing with the regulations on the highest state administrative organs and the questions of developing constitutional procedures professor Geza Kilenyi, head of the State Science Research Programme Bureau of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the named committee said to the MTI correspondent, among others: Their task is the elaboration of constitutional principles regarding the parliament, the Presidential Council of the People's Republic and the principles of constitutional court rules and later on the elaboration of the related text of the Constitution. They have to take a stance on whether a single or two chamber parliament be favoured. At present its composition reflects territorial interests. According to some law scientists a second chamber has to be set up which institutionally represents the interests of the different social strata. Others, however, have the view that within a single chamber system there is room for creating the institutional representation of the interests. Both stances will be elaborated in studies.

The committee also investigates whether the Presidential Council of the People's Republic be preserved. Its authority, as a result of the constitutonal amendment approved in relation to the law on legislation, was reduced to a large extent by the 1st of January this year. Most of the researchers find unnecessary that under consolidated conditions the Presidential Council could replace the parliament. In their view the parliament should act on its own. Some are in favour of creating a one-person head-of-state, namely the president of the republic, post. Several related ideas were elaborated.

The elaboration of principles regulating the constitution courts is also among the committee's tasks. In our country no constitution court have ever existed, therefore international experiences have to be considered, along with the peculiar Hungarian conditions, upon developing the organizational forms of a constitution court. Scientific research have collected the laws on constitutional courts in other countries and without copying a single state's legal regulations ideas from foreign rulings will be used.

During the development of the concept of constitutonal regulation, followed by the elaboration of the Constitution's text laws have to be created which have relevance to the constitutional law. Among the regulations to be discussed by the parliament this year those on the rights of assembly and association serve the realization of basic constitutional rights. In a sense, the preparation of the future Constitution and the elaboration of bills on the grounds of the present Constitution should meet the concept of the future Constitution. This will, most probably, be the case in the coming years. In the coming years laws will be elaborated on nationality rights and the freedom of conscience, which both are of outstanding importance for the constitutional legislation. The legislation is facing a double task: The bills which will be discussed this year by the parliament should be elaborated in a way which allows for their fit with the future Constitution.

Greece Ends 'Control' of Polish Tourists

LD1208202688 Warsaw PAP in English
1827 GMT 12 Aug 88

[By PAP correspondent Wlodzimierz Zrobik]

[Text] Sofia, Aug. 12—As a result of firm intervention of Polish Foreign Ministry Greek customs authorities halted detailed control of Polish tourists at Bulgarian-Greek crossing, thus ending an ordeal which forced Poles to wait hours in 40 degree heat to enter Greece.

For still unspecified reasons Greek customs officers were clearing first one Polish car per hour, later three cars per hour.

Representatives of Polish embassies in Sofia and Athens who went to the border crossing said that the detailed control of Polish tourists was groundless.

Harassment of Polish tourists by Greek customs was recorded also last year. Hopefully it was the last such incident and Polish tourists will be treated equally with others travelling to Greece.

Border Checks Speeded Up

LD1308153388 Warsaw PAP in English
1416 GMT 13 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 13—Director of the Foreign Ministry Consular Department Krzysztof Szumski received charge d'affaires of Greek Embassy here Ioannis Papadopoulos who said that in effect of steps taken on the Polish motion by the Greek Foreign Ministry, the competent authorities of the country caused that the border checks of Polish tourist on the Kulata-Promakhon check point were speeded up.

Injury, Arrests in 'Serious Clashes' in Gdansk

AU1408154288 Paris AFP in English
1520 GMT 14 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 14 (AFP)—Serious clashes between several hundred anti-government demonstrators and the police left at least one person injured in the northern city of Gdansk Sunday, witnesses said.

One demonstrator left in an ambulance and more than a dozen people were arrested, the witnesses reported. Three of those arrested were beaten up by police before they were taken to police cars.

The protest came at the end of a meeting attended by about 10,000 people, including the leader of the outlawed Solidarity union, Lech Walesa, near the Baltic port city's St. Brigitte's church.

Despite urgent appeals by priest Henryk Jankowski to disperse, 3,000 people tried to march several hundred meters (yards) to the Three Cross memorial commemorating the victims of police violence in the 1970 uprising.

When riot police blocked the access to the monument, demonstrators marched to the old town shouting "Down with Communism" and "No freedom without Solidarity". Some protestors reportedly also carried banners.

The clashes occurred when police cordoned off several streets.

Earlier at the meeting, Mr. Walesa announced that he would make an important speech on August 28 to give guidelines for future Solidarity action.

The meeting had been organized to commemorate the beginning of a series of strikes in 1980 that led to the signing of an agreement with the government legalizing the Communist bloc's first independent trade union on August 31.

Solidarity was banned and dissolved after the proclamation of martial law on December 13, 1981. Martial law was lifted in July 1983.

PAP Reports Event

LD1408203488 Warsaw PAP in English
1954 GMT 14 Aug 88

[Text] Gdansk, Aug. 14—Following today's mass at St. Brigida Church in Gdansk and the aggressive, anti-government address of Father Henryk Jankowski, a rally attended by about 2.5 thousand people was held at an adjacent square bedecked with slogans of former "Solidarnosc," and with national, shipyard and papal banners.

After the rally ended, a group of about 200 people who behaved aggressively left the church premises shouting slogans such as "Down with the commune" and "Communists will hang on trees instead of leaves."

The demonstrators tried to get to the grounds of the traditional "Dominikanski" fair. As a result of the preventive operations of law enforcement forces, their intentions were foiled, owing to which no collective breach of law and order took place.

The demonstrators behaved very aggressively, throwing rocks and shoreline slabs at law enforcement officers and demolishing a cafe garden. 6 militiamen were injured.

Banned Opposition Group Calls For United Front

AU1208204888 Paris AFP in English
2030 GMT 12 Aug 88

[Excerpt] Warsaw, Aug 12 (AFP)—The banned Confederation for Polish Independence (KPN) on Friday called for all opposition movements to form a united front.

In a statement sent to AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE here, the KPN said a united opposition front was increasingly "necessary and expected" by Polish society.

The organisation said it hoped to present a common programme for "national understanding" to the government, but said a dialogue would only be possible if the authorities guaranteed political and union freedom in Poland.

The movement has demanded the legalisation of all political parties and workers' unions, including the banned Solidarity movement, free elections and the abolition of censorship. [passage omitted]

Unionists Discuss Rudna Mining Situation

LD1208215088 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 12 Aug 88

[Text] The copper mining and metallurgical combine, the Rudna mining enterprise: The miners today first received information concerning talks about adapting the provisions of the law on enterprise remuneration systems to the specific requirements of enterprises of the mining industry.

[Begin recording] [Piotr Przybyla, trade union representative] We think that for the present, the draft decree concerning the miner's charter meets our expectations and the expectations of our workforces. We our workers expect revision of the miner's charter as was happening before it was frozen in 1985; that is what our workers expect of their union representatives.

[Wieslaw Katny, trade union representative] Someone is always trying to convince us that there was a strike. We did not call a strike; we did not announce it. We are talking about a form of protest. This is the form, so to speak, that we chose; and if a consequence of this was half-hour work stoppage—because that is just how it happened to be planned by all the crews of the combine, including Rudna—then this is beside the point. Let's talk about essential matters rather than be sensational.

[Reporter] Do you think that the trade unions stayed within the framework of the law on trade unions?

[Jarmuzen, a trade union representative] I think so; yes. The events which took place at the Rudna mining enterprise had no influence our enterprise's economic performance. So the legal provisions (?in favor) of the miner's charter exist, however, as far as the economic side is concerned, that is, the finding of money, we will have to manage here by ourselves in the enterprise and also in the combine. [end recording]

Jaruzelski, Cardinal Glemp Meet 12 Aug

LD1208152288 Warsaw PAP in English 1418 GMT 12 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 12—President of the Council of State Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski today held a meeting with Poland's primate, Cardinal Jozef Glemp.

The two discussed the socio-political and economic situation in the country. They devoted much attention to issues of the Poles' public and private life, including the material conditions of respective professional groups against the backdrop of the economic situation of Poland.

A conviction was expressed that bold implementation of the reform called for a search for and arriving at new forms of activity as well. The two stressed the need to use ethical and humanitarian principles in shaping stances and fulfilling civil responsibility.

Both interlocutors took interest in the further enhancement of possibilities for society to express its subjectiveness, including the expansion of multifarious forms of associating. Both sides underscored the purposefulness of stimulating enterprise in all sectors of the national economy while preserving their equal rights and authenticity.

The president of the Council of State discussed the results of the visit of CPSU CC General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev to Poland. The primate shared reflections from his participation in the ceremonies marking the millennium of the baptism of Russia which were held in Moscow and Kiev this year. The positive, partner-like development of good neighbourly relations between the nations of Poland and the Soviet Union, also in religious life, is conducive to getting to know one another, to overcoming historically shaped resentment and prejudice and to the building of common peace.

The sides discussed the course of hitherto works aimed at establishing diplomatic relations between Poland and the Holy See.

The upcoming 70th anniversary of regaining independence and ways of commemorating it by all Poles throughout the world were also the subject of the talks.

Jerzy Urban Gives News Conference 9 Aug

AU1208201588 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 10 Aug 88 pp 1, 4

[Transcript of press conference given by Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban for domestic and foreign journalists at the INTERPRESS Press Center in Warsaw on 9 August]

[Text] I am sorry that Mr Bernard Margueritte's apartment was broken into by robbers, but we are astonished that sections of the French press have suggested that this was a premeditated action. This was a common robbery, and such robberies happen in Paris, too.

Let me cite some Polish statistics in this connection. About 5,500 cases of so-called robbery occur a year, and in the first 6 months of this year 2,361 of them took place. Street theft accounts for 94 percent of those cases.

There were 122 robbery-like burglaries of apartments in the first 6 months of this year, and compared with the first 6 months of last year, these burglaries decreased 20 percent.

It happens that public opinion notes such cases when they involve prominent people, and on such occasions a sense of greater dangers develops, but this impression is mistaken.

About 50 percent of apartment burglars and about 80 percent of street robbers are caught. The militia regards every case of such theft as a very serious crime and makes every effort to catch the criminals, but is not always successful. Most recently, the criminals who attacked the staff of a gasoline station in Piotrkow Trybunalski and who burglarized the apartment of a woman physician in Warsaw and that of Wladyslaw M. in Rembertow were caught.

It has not been possible to catch the criminals who have recently committed dangerous cases of robbery, which include armed assaults on cash carriers of the Otwock Cooperative Bank last April and on Mr Makowicki in Bogucin last July, when large amounts of convertible currencies and jewelry were stolen. The militia regards the bestial assault on Mr Margueritte's family as a very serious case of robbery. The best specialists in crime detection have taken over investigations into that case. Several hypotheses have been formulated as to who could be responsible for that robbery, and they are being tested.

Now I would like to cite original UPI and AFP reports:

"About 3,000 people participated in an anti-government demonstration in Gdansk, but the militia did not intervene. Solidarity appealed to its 9 million members and sympathizers to pressure the government into legalizing Solidarity before its eighth anniversary this month. The Gdansk demonstrators chanted 'There is no freedom without Solidarity' when they marched along the main streets of the city. Dissident sources claim that demonstrators shouted 'Down with communism' and 'We want Lech and not Wojciech.' Those sources assume that the illegal 'Federation of Fighting Youth,' which supports Solidarity, organized the demonstration."

This was a large excerpt from the UPI report. Now for AFP:

"The demonstration took place after a mass celebrated in the St. Brigida Church by Father Henryk Jankowski. About 3,000 demonstrators led by a young guitarist, who played tunes in honor of Solidarity, carried large banners demanding that the banned Solidarity be reinstated. They also made 'V' signs with with their fingers and chanted 'There is no freedom without Solidarity,' 'We want Lech and not Wojciech,' and 'Solidarity will be victorious.'"

Quoting Gdansk oppositionists, AFP reported that demonstrators went to the site of the Dominican fair where they were enthusiastically welcomed by an enormous crowd, which gathered around the stands and took up the slogans. The police stood aside and did not intervene. The demonstrators dispersed quietly.

Now I would like to cite, for contrast, the text of a report issued by the Ministry of Internal Affairs for my own use.

(I stress that this information was meant for my own use and not for publication. The simple fact is, that all ministries give information about all events as far as possible).

"On 7 August at noon, following a mass in the St. Brigida Church, some 50 persons began marching along the streets of the Old City in Gdansk, carrying an unfurled banner and singing songs. Because the Dominican fair was being held in that area, these persons did not attract any major attention. The militia did not intervene." The London daily DZIENNIK POLSKI published in Polish reported on 30 July that the Polish staff of Radio Free Europe during a meeting with their chief Mr Pell stated its refusal, with a single exception, to have a meeting with me.

From the West German sources I know that Mr Pell is to set the date of my visit, that is, to say what he thinks about the proposed date of my visit, when he is back from his vacation.

It is rather surprising that the staff which continues to demand freedom of speech and clashes of views refuses to practice what it preaches. That staff regards itself as a team of Polish emigrants who think and act in favor of Poland. It is most original to refuse discussing things with a representative of the government that those people may or may not like, but that is in real power in Poland. They refuse to listen to a representative of those authorities whose every move is criticized in every detail daily by Radio Free Europe.

Let me assure all and sundry that I will not harm, insult, and bite any member of the Polish staff, so there is no reason why they should be terribly afraid of the spokesman for the Polish Government.

Public opinion polls on my planned trip to Munich show that 39.1 percent of respondents approve of this trip and regard it as reasonable, necessary, interesting, and purposeful; that 19 percent are against it; and that the rest are undecided.

About 10 percent of respondents doubt whether the meeting will take place and whether Radio Free Europe will back it. Some 16 percent of respondents backed their negative views by explaining that either I will suffer defeat and will not be able to cope (11 percent thought the contrary about my being able to cope) or took the

view that such a trip was inappropriate. Some of the views: "I think that the trip is senseless. An official should not visit such a radio station." "I doubt whether such a meeting should take place, because Urban is a minister, and the Radio Free Europe team is not a leadership with which an official of such rank should meet. This would be to Urban's detriment." "Another stupidity committed by Urban. He thinks that in this way he will win people for himself, but everyone has had enough of him because he is arrogant and rude." "This is Urban's palpable bluff. I think the thing will become a parody...."

Views vary, and every cited view was expressed by a different person. "I think that the trip will be a parody and will ridicule Minister Urban." "This is Urban's trick to acquire popularity."

The following views sum up what 6.2 percent of respondents think: "The trip will never materialize. Radio Free Europe will not let such a meeting happen." "I think that they will not let Urban in."

One thing is certain: The Polish public has shown a lively interest in the plan for that trip. More people are in favor of doing it than not.

Public opinion polls to test reaction to my answer to a journalist's question whether I should retire show that 55 percent of respondents are indifferent to what I would do, 26.5 percent would be relieved by my retirement, and 20.6 percent would rejoice at it. These percentages do not add up, because the same respondents expressed their various emotional states.

One-fifth of respondents are for my immediate retirement and 50 percent are in favor of retiring me when a better successor is found. Almost one-quarter of respondents are against my retirement, unless I wish to retire, and 4 percent think that I should stay on, regardless of my own wishes.

Perhaps the most crucial result of those polls is that 24.7 percent respondents like the government spokesman and 48.3 percent dislike him. This means that fewer people than before like me now.

Zbigniew Satala, GAZETA KRAKOWSKA: Does the communique on the session of the Council of Ministers suggest that meat prices will be increased?

Urban: No, it does not. The communique states economic realities and makes it known that the wages can now buy almost one-third more meat than some time ago. This is a result of large wage increases—63 percent this year—and this is one of the reasons for difficulties in meat supplies.

Boguslaw Turek, UPI: It has been alleged that a strike organized by official trade unions was to begin today in Rudna. Any comment?

Urban: The events in Rudna were that Minister Bilip sent a telegram saying that he had invited representatives of the Trade Union Federation for talks in his ministry. Trade union activists held a meeting on the telegram early this morning and decided to keep up their protest as a moral gesture, without stopping work. That is why trade union aktivs went underground to have discussions with the work force, which decided not to stop work. So the work in Rudna has not stopped today. On the other hand, the dispute is still there, and miners' wage problems will be discussed during negotiations with the ministry.

Boguslaw Turek: What were the legal grounds for the mass medias' publishing the names of seven managers from the meat and sugar industries?

Urban: I do not know why the names of punished managers should be kept secret. The press regulations state that names of people on trial cannot be published without agreement from the prosecutor or the courts, because such people are deemed to be innocent until the contrary is proved in the court of justice. Please do not apply this rule to disciplinary punishment, because this would mean that criticizing people by name is altogether not allowed.

Henryk Sroczynski, GLOS ROBOTNICZY: In the first 6 months of this year hundreds and hundreds of enterprises worked so as to produce less at higher prices. They boosted prices and wages and, at the same time, reduced production. How does the government respond to such work and how does it explain that such features have occurred in the first months of the second stage of the economic reform?

Urban: Above all, it is necessary to stress the first response of the Central Committee and its very severe censures of the events in the economy during the first 6 months of this year. I quote: "Methods and means of balancing the market and curbing inflation have been not effective enough." Further: "The Central Committee regards decisively boosting the effectiveness of the second stage of the economic reform as a key issue."

The 19 July session of the Politburo, which discussed the implementation of the seventh plenum resolutions, also indicated that it is of primary significance to increase the flow of consumer goods and services, that is, it dealt with the issues criticized by you. The party leadership also criticized these issues and instructed the government to counter features such as efforts to maintain or increase the present incomes of enterprises without boosting production and increasing effectiveness, while merely raising prices and wages.

These features were one of the main reasons for granting the government extraordinary powers, and these extraordinary powers are being used to combat the negative features in question. State supervision of increases in prices and wages has been stepped up. Every intended

price increase has to be reported to the treasury department, and it has the right to delay the introduction of an increase for as long as 6 months. It is also obligatory to report intended wage increases when their introduction would involve more than 25 percent of an enterprise's profits for distribution. If the 25-percent ceiling is exceeded, the taxation rate goes up by 50 percent and, at the same time, tax concessions on the tax paid on the growth in wages are lost. Thus, there are tough economic sanctions directed against such actions.

In addition, all the enterprises and cooperatives that exploited higher wages and prices during the first quarter and introduced wage increases of more than 60 percent received warning letters requesting an explanation from the Council of Ministers Committee for the Implementation of the Economic Reform during the first quarter. The explanations were examined and sanctions were then applied. The premier dismissed 5 enterprise directors and suspended, that is, brought about the suspension of 28 cooperative chairman. Four cooperative chairman were dismissed by supervisory councils, which had been alerted to the need to do this by the government committee. The explanations are still being examined, especially in the case of enterprises about whose activity there is still no clear-cut opinion, and this applies to another 170 cooperatives.

Timothy Heretich, REUTER: What is the Polish Government's reaction to the cease-fire in the Persian Gulf region? Does Poland intend to dispatch a representative to the area to supervise the implementation of the cease-fire?

Urban: We have already expressed an opinion on this matter, but I can confirm that we are pleased at the decision to suspend military operations and commence peace negotiations. Poland is prepared to make an active contribution to such a peace process and, in reply to your question about whether it is ready to send observers, the answer is yes.

Deborah Seward, NEWSWEEK: In your letter to Radio Free Europe's Mr Pell, did you put forward a concrete idea or did you just express your intention to meet with representatives of Radio Free Europe's Polish section? Do you still intend to go there, even if it will not be possible for such a meeting to take place?

Urban: Of course, I put forward concrete ideas for the stay and the meeting. I described how I imagined it would take place and proposed a date. I am now waiting for a reply, and would like to confirm the details by letter. Of course, I intend to go, and I think that such a meeting will take place. After all, Mr Pell said publicly that he will invite me, and he is the Polish team's employer.

Andrzej Wiecko, NEWSWEEK: I have two questions. I would like to know whether the very negative information that you gave on how you are viewed by public opinion means that there is a possibility that you will step down from the post that you hold. If so, then when might such a decision be made? Has a successor already been chosen, and what new post might you assume?

Urban: No, I provided the information, because when there is some interesting information I pass it on. I expressed my opinion about the advantages that would come from my departure. I said that this was not up to me. So far, I have not received any indications to the effect that my opinions are shared by those who make such decisions.

Andrzej Wiecko: My second question is connected with the attack on Mr Margueritte's family. I would like to ask if Polish citizens who are not issued firearms due to the nature of their work can apply for a firearms permit for the purpose of ensuring the safety of their families?

Urban: Of course, they may, but I do not know how many permits have been issued. This is a question that you could address to the spokesman for the Citizens' Militia.

Gemma Aizpitare Heriz, EFE: I would like to know what use the government is making of the extraordinary powers that it has been granted. What interests me most is the number of enterprise directors who have been dismissed, because of their opposition to the reform. How many of them are there?

Could you also please explain what will happen next to the 21 enterprises that are currently in a state of liquidation?

Urban: We have reported how many directors have been dismissed. A moment ago I spoke about the dismissal of some directors for one reason in particular. The government has been charged with doing this and it intends to undertake further resolute disciplinary action. I do not remember the precise number at the moment, because there have been quite a few communiques on this subject.

As for the enterprises that are currently undergoing liquidation, the situation is not a uniform one. Some of them have already been closed down. Today's RZECZPOSPOLITA carries a list of enterprises that have been closed down during the last couple of days following a decision made by the premier based on the government's extraordinary powers. The positions of other enterprises are being examined, and these examinations are being conducted at various levels, because the enterprises concerned are of varying degrees of importance. In some cases the examinations are being conducted by high level commissions. This applies to making decisions about such giant industrial facilities as the "Lenin" Shipyard in Gdansk and "Pafawag" in Wroclaw. These are not simple decisions to make, and they cannot be made quickly for various social and economic reasons. Various options are being formulated for solving the economic

and organizational problems of these enterprises. They include splitting up the enterprises by way of distributing their component parts among various other enterprises and reducing their size. Various possibilities are being examined.

Jurgen Therbrath, ARD [FRG broadcasting organization]: Could you comment on the growing number of Poles who go abroad permanently? Does this represent a fundamental problem for the Polish economy?

Urban: It definitely does not constitute a fundamental problem for the Polish economy. The number of people who have gone abroad permanently or, we can say, have emigrated, over the last few years has amounted to about 300,000, that is, about 1 percent of the adult population of Poland. During the first half of the 20th century about 10 million people emigrated from Poland. However, it is a serious problem, because the people who emigrate are generally young, dynamic, and have good professional qualifications. Almost 10 percent of this number are people who have received higher education.

As far as I know, the number is not increasing, but actually declining. This applies to the current trend.

I think that the way to counteract this is to create better living conditions here in Poland, to create opportunities for people who are enterprising and ambitious, a situation that will lead them to believe that their future lies here in Poland.

As I have already said, we do not intend to create any administrative checks on emigration, or any kind of economic restrictions that will hamper emigration.

Tadeusz Kucharski, TIME: The press has carried a short report on the minister of labor and social policy approving a fund for providing assistance to large families that has been set up by Zbigniew Bujak and Zbigniew Janas. Could you give us some more information about the fund? Where, for example, will the resources for this assistance come from?

Urban: No, it is not my job to do so. However, I do know that professional opposition activists are generally quite wealthy people, and they can afford things of this kind.

Ceausescu and Wife Tour Brasov Truck Enterprise

Briefed on Products, Improvements

AU1208124488 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1000 GMT 12 Aug 88

[Text] This morning, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania, together with Comrade Elena Ceausescu, paid a working visit to the Brasov Truck Enterprise, a noteworthy unit of the machine building industry, which produces the entire truck output of our country, for both domestic national economic requirements and for exports.

On their arrival at the enterprise, thousands of working people gave a warm reception to our party-state leader Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Elena Ceausescu, and gave prolonged cheers for the party and its secretary general. Young people, pioneers, and Fatherland Falcons presented Comrades Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu with beautiful flowers.

After the arrival ceremony, the distinguished guests were invited to tour several production sections of the enterprise. Representatives of the relevant ministry and of the respective central department, as well as the management of the enterprise briefed them on the steps taken to improve labor organization and modernize production. The hosts presented the working collective's new products, including a new series of Romanian-made 11-tonne engines meeting international standards. The management of the enterprise also spoke of the concern for replacing alloy steels with high-strength nodular cast iron, and aluminium parts with parts made of other materials. At an exhibition organized there, the hosts presented the entire range of engines produced by the enterprise for both the national economy and export. On the central platform of the enterprise, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Elena Ceausescu were shown the enterprise's new range of products, including trucks, [word indistinct], and tractors.

In all the sections visited, the distinguished guests were received with sentiments of love, an expression of the regard nurtured by the working people of the Brasov Truck Enterprise, along with the whole nation, for Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, party secretary general and president of the Republic, and for Comrade Elena Ceausescu.

After the visit to the main production sections, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, party secretary general and president of the Republic, together with Comrade Elena Ceausescu, met with members of the Working People's Council of the Brasov Truck Enterprise, where he continued his working dialogue. Before departure, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu again spoke to the working people of this large enterprise of Brasov Municipality. Referring to activities to date, the party secretary general said that steady efforts should be made to improve the entire activity and raise the quality of production, so as to produce high-performance trucks that can compete on international markets. He also emphasized the need to pool all efforts to increase the efficiency of the entire activity, so that all those working in that enterprise and the Working People's Council should improve the organization of production and labor, and fulfill their tasks in an exemplary manner. The party secretary general asked the entire working collective to act in a spirit of high workers' responsibility, in accordance with their capacity as owners, producers, and end-users of the entire productive activity.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu expressed the conviction that, beginning with this year, the Brasov Truck Enterprise will take efficient steps to eliminate lags, substantially increase the production, radically improve its quality, modernize manufacture processes, and raise the efficiency of the entire activity.

In conclusion, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu extended wishes for success and much health and happiness to those present. The departure ceremony was marked by the same atmosphere of enthusiasm that has characterized the entire visit. Those present expressed gratitude for today's working visit. Young people, pioneers, and Fatherland Falcons again presented flowers to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Elena Ceausescu.

Plan Fulfillment Efforts Noted

AU1208185788 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1723 GMT 12 Aug 88

["President Nicolae Ceausescu's Working Visit to the Truck Manufacturing Enterprise in Brasov"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 12/08/1988—On Friday, August 12, Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of Romania, and Mme Elena Ceausescu paid a working visit to the truck manufacturing enterprise in Brasov.

The RCP and Romanian state leader's new dialogue with truck manufacturers centered on an analysis of the way in which action was taken to fully capitalize the technical and human potential available in that industrial unit, with a view to integrally fulfilling plan tasks for 1988 and the whole five-year period.

Production sectors were seen round where significant data were supplied on the fulfilment of plan tasks and that collectivity's concern to attain economic indicators, cut back on metal and power consumption, boost productivity, reduce production costs, and augment the efficiency of all activities. As a result, in the first seven months of the ongoing year higher indicators were registered in the fulfilment of the plan as against the same period last year.

During the visit, emphasis was placed on the contribution made by the research work conducted by the enterprise's experts into the modernization of production flows and the growth of the metal utilization index.

Expressing appreciation for those accomplishments, President Nicolae Ceausescu requested that they be applied and expanded on a broader scale, to machine-building enterprises.

During his visit, the RCP general secretary talked to workers and experts about the way in which plan tasks are fulfilled, about the action taken to continuously raise the quality of products. He also inquired about working conditions in the enterprise and the people's problems related to their lives and their work.

Truck manufacturers warmly thanked the party and state leader for his permanent concern for and support to the development and modernization of that large enterprise and the rise in the whole Romanian people's standard of living.

A number of trucks, special motor vehicles and new types of tractors manufactured at the same industrial central department were presented, to highlight the diversification of production and the technical level attained by the Romanian industry.

The analysis of the way in which the tasks incumbent on truck manufacturers in the ongoing year and the entire quinquennium are fulfilled, of programmes for updating production and manufacturing technologies, for boosting productivity and improving the quality of production continued during the party general secretary's meeting with the members of the Council of Working People of the enterprise, a meeting also attended by executives of the relevant industrial central department and ministry, by members of the bureaux of the county and municipal party committees.

Stress was laid on the fact that during the debates with the Communists and all working people of the April Theses that will make the subject of the future plenary meeting of the CC of the RCP numerous proposals for the improvement of the entire production activity were made, the collectivity of the enterprise being inspired by the firm wish to fulfil plan tasks as properly as they can. [sentence as received]

The enterprise was shown to boast a sound climate of work by a number of speakers who also self-critically referred to a number of shortfalls, emphasizing the way in which action is taken to guarantee order and discipline, to institute a responsible, revolutionary style of work, a sense of communist exigency and responsibility in all areas of activity.

On behalf of the Communists, of all working people in that representative unit of the Romanian machine-building industry, gratitude was expressed for the steps taken to raise the pays of all working people starting August 1.

Taking the floor during the meeting, President Nicolae Ceausescu showed the truck manufacturing enterprise in Brasov to have developed considerably in recent years, to boast at present a very large volume of fixed assets, a strong collectivity of highly-skilled workers and experienced foremen, technicians and engineers, and a powerful party organization.

Referring to the immediate tasks incumbent on truck manufacturers, the president called attention to the need for urgent action to make up for arrears, technical and organizational measures being taken to fulfil the basic indicators under the 1988 plan. To that end, the Council of Working People was called upon to analyse the way in which the enterprise's workers and experts, in their capacity as owners, producers and end users, manage the facilities entrusted to them by society. This is—the party general secretary said—one of the essential problems on which the rise in economic efficiency in any unit, the general development of the country as a whole depend. This is the only way to provide for the corresponding realization of the working people's incomes, to properly apply the steps to boost those incomes, which the party leadership recently adopted.

During the meeting, President Nicolae Ceausescu placed particular emphasis on the imperative need to raise the quality of products, so that the trucks made in Brasov may vie with the best trucks manufactured in the world today.

At the end of the meeting with the members of the Council of Working People, the RCP and Romanian state leader addressed the thousands of truck manufacturers inside the enterprise, showing that during his visit he had noted achievements, the whole collectivity's concern to fulfil their plan tasks for the ongoing year. The party general secretary also underscored the need for the entire collectivity to mobilize its forces and plenarily commit itself to the improvement of activities at every workplace so that in the period to follow production tasks—with all indicators—might be rhythmically fulfilled.

Presidency Session Examines FEC Report
LD1308130388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1107 GMT 13 Aug 88

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 13 Aug (TANJUG)—The SFRY Presidency examined the FEC report on implementing economic policy and measures for curbing inflation at yesterday's session presided over by Raif Dizdarevic.

The Presidency was reported to have noted that at this moment the most important thing to do was to step up efforts and take further economic measures to considerably decelerate the growth of inflation and stimulate industrial production in the coming months. [passage omitted]

At yesterday's session the Presidency agreed with the FEC proposal whereby regulations should be passed in the form of temporary measures on which consent was not reached between the FEC and executive councils of the republics and autonomous provinces, and the FEC considers their adoption necessary for preventing greater disturbances on the market. [passage omitted]

The Presidency was also briefed on the outcome of the visit of its president, Raif Dizdarevic, to the Federal Republic of Nigeria. It assessed the visit and talks with Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida and other high-ranking Nigerian officials as exceptionally important and as being a stimulus for furthering bilateral relations. The visit particularly contributed to efforts to create an even more favorable political atmosphere and expand possibilities for more dynamic development of all aspects of cooperation, particularly in the economic sphere, ensuring more favorable prospects for more permanent forms of economic cooperation. The Presidency also judged the broad exchange of view on topical international issues, especially the forthcoming activities of the nonaligned movement, as important.

The Presidency examined at this session and positively assessed the activity of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs and the joint police unit which, by the decision of the SFRY Presidency, has been involved in directly carrying out tasks the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo from October 1987. At the proposal of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs, the Presidency decided that the members of the joint police unit could also be involved in giving assistance to Kosovo security organs in directly carrying out security tasks, especially duties concerning the protection citizens' personal and material security. The methods of this commitment will be established by agreement between the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs and the Provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs of Kosovo.

Agrokomerc Trial Adjourned Until 5 Sep
LD1208142488 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1346 GMT 12 Aug 88

[Text] Bihac, August 12 (TANJUG)—The Bihac court today adjourned the trial of the participants of Yugoslavia's largest financial scandal since World War Two. The trial of the former executives of the agro-industrial complex Agrokomerc of Velika Kladusa will continue on September 5th.

The first part of the trial lasted 57 days and, in this period, the accused, former Agrokomerc director Fikret Abdic and former Bosnia-Hercegovina politician Hakija Pozderac were called to witness.

Agrokomerc had issued around 900 million dollars of unbacked promisory notes to cover its unprofitable business ventures.

Under a decision of the Bihac court, Hasan Dzanic, accused of counter-revolutionary activities, was discharged from prison for health reasons, because he is suffering from a serious kidney disorder.

Freedom Committee's Proposal on Tito Viewed
AU1308195288 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Aug 88 p 3

[Dragan Djuric commentary: "Tito in the Dock"]

[Text] The organ of the Slovene Youth, MLADINA, has proven that the number of sold copies of a newspaper does not have to fall even when its price increases up to—and for Yugoslavia this is astronomical—2,000 dinars, that is, it does not have to be considered too expensive. Turning unrestrainably on the merry-go-round of "hot" political topics that are a very sought-after commodity on the readers' market in these turbulent times, MLADINA has found the formula for certain profit.

To a series of provocative articles printed on its pages, which were often reacted to violently and passionately by people in various places and levels, MLADINA adds another article carried in its 29 July issue entitled "Who Was Josip Broz Tito?" The article is not by this weekly's journalists—the weekly has long ago outgrown its short trousers—but it is a "dessert" with pungent flavor and a suspicious taste. Or perhaps that is not important.

The authorship of this "Proposal for a Free and Critical Assessment of the Historical Role of Josip Broz Tito," addressed to the SFRY Presidency, the SFRY Assembly, and certainly (or, better said, above all) to the Yugoslav public, belongs to the collective mind of the Committee for the Protection of Freedom of Thought and Expression. This one is, if we are not mistaken, the committee's second appearance on the public scene after its Zagreb appearance in STUDENTSKI LIST in February. At that time, it joined the debate on constitutional changes, among other things, asserting that "self-management has become a means and an excuse to transform the Yugoslav Federation into a confederation, a pretext for a radical change in the national policy which commenced with constitutional amendments in 1968 and was finally carried out by the 1974 Constitution." This is also one of the strongest points in the new proposal whose focus is on the "critical assessment" of Tito's role. Tito was also

"put in the dock" because of the Kosovo issue which is, as is said, "closely linked with the national policy of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and the LCY and a result of the 1974 Constitution which put Serbia in an unequal position compared with other republics." The fact completely ignored here is that the approach to the national question was, in fact, one of the strategic links joining Yugoslav peoples in the liberation war and that the latest constitution, despite its doubtless imperfections, was founded on AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] principles as a heritage of the national liberation struggle. If one is to judge according to the names of the 19 signatories (all people of learning—TANASIJE Mladenovic, Borislav Mihajlovic-Mihiz, Ljubomir Tadic, Dragoslav Mihailovic, Mihailo Markovic, Predrag Palavestra, Radovan Samardzic, Matija Beckovic, Dragoslav Srejovic, Dobrica Cosic, Neca Jovanov, Ivan Jankovic, Mladen Srbinovic, Gojko Nikolis, Andrija Gams, Vojislav Kostunica, Kosta Cavoski, Zagorka Golubovic, and Mica Popovic) then it is not advisable to reject the proposal in advance.

After all, nobody can avoid critical and scientific verification, particularly when a historical personality is involved and, anyway, history has never spared anybody. We can agree with the committee that "an unbiased assessment of Josip Broz's political activities and his personage must remove the idolizing pursuance of his cult and primitive forms of expressing devotion." After all, does one thereby not harm the work of the president over many years and does invoking Tito not serve some people as a means of protection and cover behind which they hide their own incapability?

In this case, however, a falsity was pushed through, albeit a falsity put in elegant words in conformity with the scientific status of the signatories. Although the authors Tanasije Mladenovic and Mica Popovic claim on behalf of the Committee that the abovementioned proposal is not "an expression of a cheap desire to persistently poke about the past," they have hardly gone further than that. Namely, Tito was condemned before the readers were offered various perspectives and "possible" points of this "free, comprehensive, and objective scientific and critical reassessment" of Tito's personage and role. According to them, it was not Tito's historical role to be examined with an authentic scientific and objective approach, but his "historical responsibility." Moreover, 8 years after his death there is an attempt to proclaim him responsible for the current Yugoslav crisis.

"Numerous objective and subjective factors have contributed to such an unfortunate result of the Yugoslav alternative to 'real socialism,' and Josip Broz Tito is the most responsible among them," it is said in the committee's proposal. Therefore, according to this—to put it most mildly—defective "scientific" and "comprehensive" outline of the reexamination of our modern history, one man is placed even above objective circumstances.

It is proposed that light should also be shed on Tito's role in founding Goli Otok, which is termed "one the most sinister camps in modern Europe." The veil of taboo has long been removed from this camp, so it is really strange that one can overlook the fact that this now closed-down penitentiary was the testimony of the most dramatic period in our modern history on which historiography has made its judgment: The opposition to the Cominform resolution required a quick reaction, which unfortunately also resulted in human tragedies.

When calling into question the Yugoslav foreign policy of nonalignment, the committee focused its attention on the following question: "What were the real costs of his (Tito's—author's note) reign?" In doing so, the committee overlooked the fact of his reputation and his influence in the world as a statesman. This is what Yugoslavia has inherited and what enables it to carry out an independent policy as part of its international and political relations. After all, evaluating the nonaligned policy (especially as it used to be when it was constituted) by using the modern "yardstick" of the times of momentary "warming up" of relations among superpowers shows the lack of feeling for reality and for the specific historical period. Nonalignment has undoubtedly been and still is the guaranty of Yugoslavia's security and independence.

This is how everything that could represent Josip Broz Tito's contribution was consistently and definitely called into question: anything from his doubtless personal contribution as well as the cost of being the founder of new Yugoslavia. All in all, it can be concluded from the general intonation of the proposal that not only Tito, but all constituent elements of Yugoslavia as a state are submitted to questioning.

Instead of a comprehensive glance at recent history and Tito's work, there is an evident one-sided approach which is only aimed at compromising Tito as a historical personality and all this is used as a means of realizing current aims of the day's politics. In the background one can easily discern petty politicking.

Without compromising the undoubtedly historical and political personality of Josip Broz Tito, one cannot undermine socialist, self-managing, federal, and independent Yugoslavia either, and that seems to be the ultimate aim of all such attacks against Comrade Tito's personality and his work.

Finally, can one make any serious analysis of a historical personality—and, judging from the quantity of "responsibility" the Committee for the Protection of Thoughts and Expression "endows" him with, Josip Broz is a historical personality—solely from the position of the current difficulties and the current crisis we are in or from the position of the current political situation? It is clear that one cannot. Otherwise, that cannot be an objective, scientific, and comprehensive approach. Why is it then presented as such?

Belgrade SAWP Proposes Solidarity Meeting

AU1208154988 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Aug 88 p 1

[M. Malesevic report: "A Meeting in September"]

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Aug—Belgrade people will be able to express their political will in an organized and the most democratic way and to give their support to the Serbian LC and the LCY so that party and state conclusions are consistently and quickly implemented, peace and equality are restored to the inhabitants of Kosovo, legality is established, and the humane characteristics of society are returned to socialism. This was decided at today's session of the Belgrade SAWP City Conference Presidium during a discussion on numerous demands for an organized meeting of solidarity in Belgrade and on the demands of progressive forces for a solution to the problems and the final elimination of the counterrevolution in Kosovo.

It is envisaged that this unique meeting will be held in September.

Nova Pazova Town Meeting Discusses Kosovo

LD1208230288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1831 GMT 12 Aug 88

[Excerpts] Nova Pazova, 12 Aug (TANJUG)—Several thousand local people gathered this evening in a field in front of the Mladost primary school in Nova Pazova. Also attending were a four-member delegation of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo Polje and Kosovska Gracanica and 15 individuals who came here on their own from other places in the province.

The person presiding at this gathering opened the meeting by saying that there was only one item on the agenda—"the current sociopolitical situation in connection with the constitutional changes in the SR of Serbia and the situation in Kosovo."

He then invited the participants to speak openly and critically, without emotion and passion, and not to allow rash discussion and provactions to thwart the purpose of the meeting. Nevertheless there was chanting, slogan shouting, thunderous applause, whistling, emotional goings-on.... besides pictures of Njegos [A Montenegrin writer and 19th century ruler], Vuk [Karadzic Vuk, 17th century Serbian literary figure] and Che Guevara, there were also banners with the words: "Only harmony among Serbs will save us," and "support the Serbian LC Central Committee and Milosevic."

Nikola Milas, secretary of the local conference of the Nova Pazova SAWP, recalled that the unanimous demand of working people and citizens was for greater unity in the republic and a quicker resolution of the situation in Kosovo. They also said that the provinces cannot be directly represented in the federal organs, that they are completely equal to the republics and have all the elements of statehood. However, he pointed out these stances were found to be unacceptable by the municipal conference of the Stara Pazova SAWP. The Presidium of the Nova Pazova SAWP local conference and later the local conference itself, on their own initiative considered and supported the proposal of the Presidency of the SR of Serbia to begin amending the Serbian constitution, including the six controversial questions which the Constitutional Commission of the Socialist Autonomous Province had not approved.

Milas said that the decision of the Serbian Assembly, as it stands, "has been pressured and blackmailed by the provincial leadership, which threatened to withold its consent, thus frustrating further work on amending the Constitution." He says that the conclusion of the Presidium of the local conference is that the extent, content, and framework of the changes to the Serbian Constitution could only be determined by the working people and citizens in a public debate. He added that the stance that, in the matter of controversial questions, all that is needed is more precise formulations, was not accepted because "this stems from a desire to reduce the changes to cosmetic finishing touches."

In connection with the arrival of the group of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo in Novi Sad, Milas said that at the session of the Presidium of the local conference the behavior of a section of the leadership of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina had been condemned and the determination of concrete responsibility demanded. The leadership of the SR of Serbia's implementation of the draft constitutional amendments was fully supported. [passage omitted]

After a debate which lasted 2 and ½ hours and in which speakers were constantly following each other, the meeting of the citizens of Nova Pazova ended this evening with the singing of an anthem.

When those present, already tired out by severe and sharp words, slowly began to disperse, a provocation took place. It was caused by Ostoja Vasic from Batajnica, who requested "a minute of silence for the flag, brotherhood, and unity, and for the revolution." He tried to shift part of the blame for the situation in Kosovo onto the leader of the Yugoslav revolution, but at that point the microphone was coursely snatched out his hand accompanied by loud whistling. Unfortunately, there were also requests by some people that he continue his provocative tirade. After this, Slobodan Kalinic took the floor and proposed that the commission for conclusions disassociate itself from Vasic's remarks.

Protests Viewed

LD1308224588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1853 GMT 13 Aug 88

[Excerpts] Novi Sad, 13 Aug (TANJUG)—Last night's meeting of Nova Pazova citizens was a protest that had all the characteristics of such meetings—something that runs counter to the earlier decision of the executive

organs of all the sociopolitical organizations. This was one of the conclusions of today's session of the sociopolitical organization executive organs of the Stara Pazova municipality, at which the first assessments were made of this political event.

The consensus is that, despite the efforts of the organizers, conditions for a democratic dialogue were not ensured. There were expressions of one-sidedness and intolerance of opinions and personalities, and there were attempts to physically remove speakers from the rostrum. This atmosphere, it was said in today's debate, was contributed to mostly by a group of about 150 people from Nova Pazova and extraneous individuals who, prior to this, had also taken part in the protests in Novi Sad and Pancevo. Carrying banners, they occupied a central place in front of the speakers' platform and, on a signal from Slobodan Mitrovic and some others, interrupted the speakers with either approval or disapproval.

Most Nova Pazova citizens spoke out on behalf of and in support of those favoring a more rapid and decisive resolution of the difficult situation in Kosovo, greater unity in the SR of Serbia and the SFRY, and the strengthening of brotherhood and unity.

Among the 30 or so speakers at last night's meeting were also those representing view points contrary to LCY policy, ones infused with nationalism. The conclusions of the 16th LCY Central Committee session were not respected either, and there was name-calling, allegations against, and labeling of Vojvodina leaders and the highest-ranking leaders in the federation. Destructive and antisocialist requests were made as well as a provocative attempt to destroy the reputation of President Tito, it was discussed at the meeting. [passage omitted]

It was pointed out that individual public media gave too much publicity to the preparations for this meeting, and that there has never been writing about Nova Pazova such as that over the last few days.

Kosovo Polje LC Rejects Albanian Petition
LD1308043888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1935 GMT 12 Aug 88

[Text] Pristina, 12 Aug (TANJUG)—The Presidium of the Kosovo Polje LC conference tonight assessed all statements in the petition submitted by some 200 Albanians of this locality, with the exception of demands for a joint solution of problems, as unacceptable. The Presidium thus rejected the petition. This assemssment was adopted unanimously, although polarization according to nationality was obvious in the discussion.

Thus, Serbs and Montenegrins called the petition a pamphlet and its presentation a hostile act. The statements in the petition that Albanians had not been invited to the meeting; that they are allegedly threatened; and that they are being deprived of the use of their national flag, language, and the right to child bearing were also rejected. It was pointed out tonight that the petition also represents an attempt to manipulate the Albanian nationality, to divert attention from the action of the LC, and to put this petition on an equal footing with the earlier petitions by the Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins. Umbrage was taken at the fact that the petition did not contain a single letter, or a single word, about the activity of the Albanian nationalists and separatists, or the problem of emigration of the Serbs and Montenegrins.

Several speakers of Albanian nationality spoke about the petition in rather general terms, viewing it as an unacceptable manner of solving the problems. It was decided that the petition should be discussed also by the Socialist Alliance and other sociopolitical organizations in the locality and further afield.

The conference Presidium tonight also heard a report on the political and and security situation and concluded that it is exceptionally complex, especially since the distribution of pamphlets from the position of Albanian nationalism and separatism.

Albanian Paper's 'Anti-Yugoslav Emotions'
AU1208180288 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 12 Aug 88

[Commentary by Panco Zafirovski, chief and responsible editor of Yugoslav Radio]

[Text] The (?basis) is the same, although added to it are some new elements developed in the laboratory of propagandist fiction. ZERI I POPULLIT has recently written and Tirana Radio has broadcast through the innocent ether that the problem of emigration of Serbs from Kosovo had been deliberately invented in Yugoslavia in order to cover the real state of affairs: oppression and national discrimination to which Albanians are submitted.

The lengthy article carried by ZERI I POPULLIT and written on the occasion of the 16th LCY Central Committee Plenum presents a comprehensive view of the Kosovo problem and even of the overall political situation in Yugoslavia according to Tirana's well-known views. However, Tirana now no longer sees that which it used to (?look at) very much and to recognize for a fact, and that fact one does not have to prove to the world either—the exodus of hundreds of thousands of Serbs and Montenegrins over the past decades because of the pogrom they are submitted to by Albanian separatists.

However, since a lie should have some semblance of truth, Tirana does not deny that people have been emigrating from Kosovo. It does not even call into question the well-known figures, but simply changes the identity of the emigrants: According to Tirana, the ones to emigrate are in fact Albanians who have allegedly been forcibly driven out of Kosovo for decades. True, it is admitted that several thousand Serbs have also emigrated, because of whom, as ZERI I POPULLIT says,

Belgrade is raising a great fuss although they have emigrated for economic reasons.

These two assertions alone in ZERI I POPULLIT's lengthy article show that any serious, polemic discussion is pointless. However, it is even clearer—and that is the most important motive for our reaction—that little has changed in Tirana's attitude toward Yugoslavia and in particular toward the question of Kosovo, which has the greatest influence on these relations.

There is still ample rhetoric about the alleged interest in good-neighborly relations in which national minorities on both sides of the border form a bridge of cooperation and understanding, while in practice, support and inspiration are once again openly and clearly extended to Albanian separatists in the Yugoslav province. This is unambiguous support to their subversive activity aimed at clearing a region of an ethnic group by using all possible means and by eventually annexing Kosovo to Albania. One does not even have to mention the patronizing attitude and interference into internal affairs of a sovereign state, because it is a constant in the behavior of the present ruling team [word indistinct] in Tirana. Therefore, we are listening to the same old stories and constructions; we are listening to Tirana's (?etudes) on the theme of chronic anti-Yugoslav emotions. Changes that used to be hinted at are now postponed and the people in the People's Republic of Albania are the ones who need them most.

Novoselac Timber Mill Workers on Strike

LD1208163088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1343 GMT 12 Aug 88

[Text] Sisak, 12 Aug (TANJUG)—After their pay was reduced yesterday, workers on the second shift at the Novoselac timber mill stopped work. They were joined today by workers of the first shift so that all 1,450 employees in this collective are on strike. As was explained to the workers at today's meeting by representatives of the collectives' management and the municipality of Ivangrad, pay was reduced because profit-related dividend payments were not calculated. What happened was that the Yugoslav Social Accountancy Service did not publish the profit margins of the timber mill for July, so a calculation had not been made.

The Novoselac timber mill workers did not accept this explanation, regardless of the promise that this part of their earnings would be paid later on. They believe that, regardless of legal regulations, a way must be found to pay them what they have earned because this collective has recently had increasingly good business results. The reduced personal incomes, as is usually the case, also indicated a series of other problems in the collective, such as poor work systems, an inappropriate allocation of remuneration points for jobs, impermissible differences in remuneration, and other things.